ST. DAVIDS
LLANDAFF & BRECON

CATHEDRALS ABBEYS, & FAMOUS CHURCHES.

THE DEVELOPMENT of MEDIAEVAL

ROMANESQUE
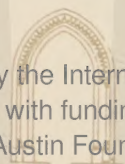

PRE-NORMAN

NORMAN

LATE NORMAN

GOTHIC

TRANSITIONAL NORMAN
INTERLACED ARCADING

EARLY ENGLISH

EARLY ENGLISH
OR FIRST PERIOD OF GOTHIC

DECORATED
OR SECOND PERIOD OF GOTHIC

PERPENDICULAR

ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND

PRE - NORMAN

ROMANESQUE

EARLY ENGLISH
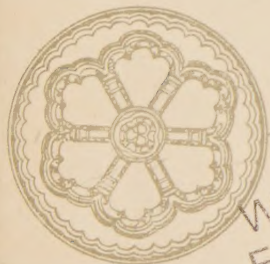
NORMAN

NORMAN WHEEL WINDOW.

DECORATED
[FLAMBOYANT]

EARLY ENGLISH
PLATE TRACERY

DECORATED

EARLY ENGLISH CAPITALS

PERPENDICULAR

ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

The nave from the south aisle showing the leaning position
of the Norman piers.

CATHEDRALS, ABBEYS & FAMOUS CHURCHES

EDITED BY ~ GORDON HOME

ST. DAVID'S
LLANDAFF
& BRECON

BY

EDWARD FOORD

AUTHOR OF "THE LAST AGE OF ROMAN BRITAIN,"
"THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE," ETC.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

THIS little work on St. David's, Llandaff and Brecon cathedrals and some of the more important churches of South Wales is, as the title-page indicates, one of a series of volumes devoted to cathedrals, abbeys and famous churches. They are made small enough for the pocket, and yet sufficiently large to give adequate scope for illustration and a readable size of type. Except in a few instances the illustrations are my own work. The photographs were obtained by special visits which I made in the autumn of 1924.

My object throughout was to avoid the stereotyped view-points, which have been published so often that those who have not visited the cathedrals for many years have forgotten how full of wonderful perspectives and mysterious glimpses they are, while others who have yet to enter the great structures only know them from photographs taken under conditions which, as a rule, miss all the beauty of half-lights and the feeling of vastness and solemnity given by soaring column and pilaster.

Being convinced that the average visitor to cathedrals and abbeys is soon wearied by over-elaborate architectural detail, I have set a very definite aim before the authors who have contributed to this series. They have been urged *to emphasise the personal side of the*

buildings they are describing; that is to say, they have written with the object of recounting how the great edifices came to be, who were the men chiefly instrumental in their genesis and development, what great events are associated with the structures, and who lies buried within their walls.

It has always appeared to me that as soon as a personality is associated with a church or one of its features, that building or object will be looked at with sufficient attention to make its form of interest. Then comes the opportunity to tell of the style and details and of the architectural influences which preceded and surrounded them. For those who love architecture as an art the personal equation merely adds an element of special interest, but for the great public I believe that something must be known of the throbbing human lives which were responsible for the splendour of the great churches before the details of the vast fabrics can be understood or appreciated.

Miss Morgan of Brecon has been good enough to read the proofs of the chapter on Brecon Cathedral, and I am grateful to her for various suggestions made.

GORDON HOME.

May, 1925.

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ST. DAVID'S, LLANDAFF
AND BRECON

CHAPTER I

ST. DAVID'S

Early History and Building

The beginnings of St. David's Cathedral unquestionably reach back to the VIth century, possibly somewhat earlier, as far as Christian associations are concerned. There is no special reason to doubt that in this remote corner of Wales an ecclesiastical establishment was founded by St. Dewi, the David of later ages. Unfortunately the patron saint of Wales is a most shadowy personage, and both the nature of his personality and his career are very doubtful. The earliest life of him extant was written as late as 1090 by a Welsh priest named Rhygyfarth, the son of Bishop Sulien, and, though in part it seems to be based upon documents then in the cathedral library, it is full of legendary and unreliable material.

It may perhaps be conceded that this most un-critical XIth-century Welsh ecclesiastic possessed some evidence in support of his statement that David was a native of this portion of Wales. The assertions that his father was a prince or king named Sanctus and

his mother a lady named Nonnita seem to have a kernel of truth. The names may very well be granted, curious as they look. Sanctus was a perfectly probable Romano-British appellation, and Nonnita was undoubtedly a fairly usual feminine name in Western Britain. But when the legendeer connects David with the family of the great Romano-British general Cunedda, who reconquered Wales from its Irish ravagers about the year 400, his ground becomes more uncertain than ever, though it is quite true that Cunedda had a large family and left many descendants, so that St. David might conceivably have been related to one of them.
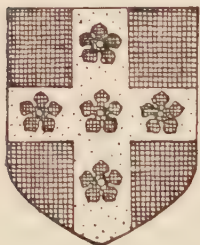
THE ARMS OF THE SEE OF ST. DAVID'S

The cross is charged with five wild roses, but the vagaries of heraldry have made them black.

It seems also fairly certain that St. David was born about 530 and lived to the age of seventy. He is said by his biographer to have been educated by a relative who was also a bishop, a certain Guistilianus. Here is clearly a good Late-Roman name, but which of them is disguised beneath the xith-century blundering cannot be ascertained. Mr Lloyd, in his *History of Wales*, tentatively suggests Justinianus, but to the writer it seems that Guistilianus more probably represents Vitalianus. On the other hand there is a legend which states that David was educated by St. Illtud, who probably died about 540. Neither story is capable of being disproved and, so far as the chronology is concerned, both are possible.

It is said that David, after completing his education, travelled up and down Britain and founded twelve great monasteries, including Repton, Croyland, Bath and Leominster! This story is mentioned merely to indicate the lack of reliability of these monastic biographers—though there is nothing to disprove the wanderings of the saint, and it may be conceded that he travelled much about his native island before finally taking up his abode in far Menevia—the Welsh Mynyw. It is also quite probable that his settlement met with much opposition from the local baron, an Irishman named Faia or Foia. The tradition that the lord of the soil in the vith century was an Irishman, a descendant of one of those who had submitted to Cunedda on favourable terms, is not likely to be a false one, and on the whole the reader may be content to accept as tolerably correct the statement that somewhere about the year 560 a monastery was established at Menevia by the man who was presently to be regarded as the patron saint of Wales.

It is not to be imagined that this first church of St. David in the extreme south-western portion of wild Wales was of an imposing character. Indeed, it may be taken for granted that it was a structure of rough stone, or perhaps a timber building on stone foundations: and the monastic edifices were probably of an equally primitive character. Bede is a fairly good authority in matters of this nature, and he testifies that in his time the Britons rarely erected stone churches. Substantial building did not flourish among the always half-barbarian peoples of western Britain, and there are no appreciable traces of Roman

architecture west of Carmarthen (Maridunum). There is a very rude and early church at Aberffraw in Anglesey, which was the seat of the princes of the house of Cunedda, who for centuries exercised dominion over North Wales, but even this does not seem to be earlier than the xith century. St. David's establishment must have resembled an Abyssinian village or a Kaffir kraal much more than a mediæval monastery even of the humbler type.

This earliest church stood for about three-quarters of a century, and was destroyed by fire in 645. Of St. David himself, apart from legend, little is known. That he was presently created a bishop seems certain, but it is not so clear that he had any definite diocese, though it is probable, because in his day more than half of Britain was still British—hardly Romano-British—and this barbarised remnant of the great dominion of Roman Britain possessed a regular ecclesiastical organisation. The British Church was the true and direct descendant of the Roman provincial Church of the vth century: it was not, like the contemporary Church of Ireland, a chaos of tribal monasteries and wandering bishops, but possessed territorial dioceses and resident bishops. But David's sphere of activity was in a very wild and unsettled corner of the country, and it may not have had at first any definite territorial boundaries.

Gildas, the historian, naturally knows nothing of David, though it is likely enough that he met him in later years. That inveterate romancer Geoffrey of Monmouth associates him with Arthur and makes him the king's uncle; the fact being that David cannot

well have been born until after the death of the
historical Arthur or Artorius. We are on firmer ground
when we are told that David presided at two eccle-
siastical synods, one at Brefi, the other at Lucus
Victoriae in 569—a council held to rectify the dis-
orders in the British Church, which certainly appear
to have been serious. The name of the place of
meeting probably indicates that it had been the scene
of a victory over English or Irish foes.

There is in the proceedings of the synod a suggestive
reference to the terror under which the Britons lived,
since it deals with the treatment of those who had
acted as "guides to the barbarians." That such acts
were, apparently, common does not shed a very
pleasant light upon the moral health of the Western
Britons, and the unpleasant impression is deepened
upon reading that the punishment was a thirteen years'
penance on bread and water. Surely the only fitting
penalty for the crime of national treason is death. The
penance must have been a nominal one, practically
impossible of enforcement. On the whole, one comes
to the conclusion that Gildas was not altogether wrong
in his conviction that there was degeneracy among
his countrymen—at any rate as far as the wild tribes
of the west were concerned. It looks as though trea-
chery were rife among them, and that their religious
pastors lacked the vigour to stamp it out.

After David a succession of bishops, who appear,
with one exception, to have been Welshmen, ruled at
his foundation until 1115. Forty-six names fill the
period of about 550 years. Most of them are peculiar
and obscure; but it seems that in a humble fashion

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the fires of literature were kept burning in this remote
nook of our island, though trouble was never far
distant. During the ixth century the monastery must
have been plundered by the Northmen, unless per-
chance its seclusion and poverty protected it; but its
worst enemies seem to have been those of its own
house, for it was frequently harassed and oppressed
by the Welsh kinglets of Demetia, one of whom,
Hemeid (died 892), was very active in the business of
exacting contributions and expelling bishops.

Hemeid drove out Bishop Novis and after him
Asser, apparently his nephew. Asser went to the
court of King Alfred, and being a literate man, though
not a particularly lucid writer, obtained the favour of
the great monarch. To him we owe that biography of
his new master which, with all its defects, gives us
the only existing description of the noblest king who
has ever ruled over the English land.

Asser, too, must have been a very worthy per-
sonage, for Alfred was not given to promoting and
enriching men who were undeserving of his favour,
and the Welshman was loaded with gifts and offices,
culminating in the great bishopric of Sherborne. The
intercourse between king and bishop was honourable
to both: Asser told Alfred frankly that he could not
for mere lucre's sake abandon his native land, and, in
the end, gave only a partial consent to the king's
requests, because he realised that Alfred would be
able to protect St. David's from the disreputable
Hemeid. And it must be said that Asser's book,
though it does no great honour to his literary capa-
city, is distinctly creditable to his personal character,

and it never seems to have occurred to him that the
royal presents were the just reward of his own services.
The story of the relations of England's noblest king
and Asser of St. David's is a pleasant one.

Alfred's authority, exercised through the medium
of Asser upon the turbulent and predatory Welsh
kinglets, was no doubt beneficial to St. David's. But
during the second half of the xth century it suffered
terribly at the hands of the Vikings—chiefly, it would
appear, the pirate kings of Dublin and Limerick. It
was sacked at least three times, in 982, 988 and 999;
on the last occasion there was a massacre of its in-
mates, and amongst the dead was Bishop Morgeneu.
The church was no doubt repaired, but the new
construction may not have been more substantial
than the old; certain it is that nothing remains of
the ancient monastery and cathedral except some
sculptured gravestones. During the succeeding cen-
tury the fortunes of this remote Christian community
were probably at their lowest. Though the Welsh
Church was a regular organisation the monastery of
St. David's was decidedly of a Celtic or Irish type,
without properly endowed prebends—simply a body
of ecclesiastics subsisting as best they might upon the
general revenue.

The district was at last drawn somewhat roughly
from its seclusion into the stream of mediæval history
by the "Norman Conquest." In 1081 William I.
himself came as far west as St. David's, and is said
to have paid homage at the shrine of the saint. That
may be doubted. David was not canonised until 1120,
but since many of the so-called "Normans" who

followed William were Bretons, they may have rendered homage to this holy man of their own race. But whatever William may or may not have done on his visit, its main purposes were certainly warlike and marked the commencement of a rapid Anglo-Norman conquest of South Wales. Ten years after the coming of the Conqueror, Arnulf de Montgomery called himself Lord of Dyfed; another chief, Martin de Tours, landed at Fishguard and carved out for himself a lordship on the shores of Cardigan Bay. Finally, in or about 1106, began the colonisation of the region by Flemings with the encouragement of Henry I. Welsh bishops still ruled in the secluded monastery in the hollow among the hills above Solva, but now the steady infiltration of foreign colonists had fairly ousted the ancient elements, and in 1115 a bishop not of Welsh descent, a certain Bernard, took his seat at St. David's.

This sudden intrusion of a Norman prelate into the far western see was probably due to the influence of Anselm, the famous Archbishop of Canterbury, who was determined to assert his primatial supremacy over the bishops of Wales no less than those of England. The result was a long and hard, if sometimes concealed, struggle between the Welsh canons and the archbishop. The Welshmen, whose claims were presently voiced by Giraldus Cambrensis, asserted their complete independence, and even put forward pretensions to the supremacy of St. David's over all South Wales, and even over all Britain west of Severn. This centrifugalism Anselm could not endure, and the English occupation of South Wales enabled him to

St. David's Cathedral from the Gateway

From this point the remarkable position of the Cathedral in a hollow is emphasised.

enforce his views. He did not live to see a bishop of his own choosing actually installed, but his successor Ralph carried out his plans and successfully—much against the will of the Welsh—inducted Bernard into the see in 1115. It seems to have been by way of compensation to the Welsh that King Henry I. procured from Pope Calixtus III. the canonisation of David.

Bishop Bernard's activities appear to have been mainly absorbed by the organisation on a regular basis of the very irregularly constituted community over which he was called to preside. His successor David Fitz-Gerald also seems to have been sufficiently employed in similar tasks, so that no attempt was made to build a cathedral on an adequate scale until about 1180, when Peter de Leia, the third Norman bishop, took the matter seriously in hand and erected a building which, with sundry additions, became and has always remained the finest ecclesiastical edifice in Wales.

By far the greater portion of the existing cathedral was the work of de Leia, and its architecture is everywhere in the Transitional Norman style, which was then in its florescence. It would appear that the building of this great edifice in so remote a corner of Britain was regarded as an act of remarkable piety and vigour, so that the bishop, the archdeacon, Gerald de Barri ("Giraldus Cambrensis") and others were granted exemption from proceeding on the Third Crusade. The association with St. David's of Gerald lasted throughout his life, for he was the nephew of Bishop David Fitz-Gerald, and all his ambitions were

wrapt up in the hope of becoming his successor. So it may be believed that when Peter de Leia was elected to succeed David, Gerald was violently displeased, and seems to have done his best to revenge himself on paper. Peter, according to him, did not reside enough in his diocese and, while he punished insubordinate canons and archdeacons, allowed plunderers of churches and robbers of graves to go unharmed. While there is no reason to believe that de Leia was above the average as a bishop, there is quite as much for thinking that here, as elsewhere, Gerald of Wales was decidedly the victim of his exuberant verbosity.

However that may be, despite local brigands and rebellious canons, Peter de Leia succeeded in building the great cathedral church of Wales—for none of the others, whether in the north or south, can be held to have the slightest claim to rivalry. It is, no doubt, a pity that he did not break away from the influence of his subordinates and erect the new church on higher ground, instead of in the hollow where David's monastery had hidden itself for six hundred years.

Bishop de Leia's builders were neither better nor worse than others of the period, and the central tower which they erected was too heavy for its supporting piers. In 1240 it came down with a crash, doing much damage to the choir and transepts. The devastation was repaired eight years later, but already the unfavourable nature of the site was becoming evident, and perhaps the outward inclination of the walls of the nave was beginning. It was increased by an earthquake in 1248, and to-day the arcades are completely out of the perpendicular. It is a tribute to the masons

that though they are in this leaning condition the piers themselves are intact.

Bishop David Martyn (1296–1328) made an important addition to the church of de Leia by building the Lady Chapel, but it was his successor who perhaps left the deepest impression upon St. David's. This was Henry de Gower, a man of aristocratic birth, probably descended from one of the Norman-English families which had colonised the peninsula of Gower in the XIth century. One of his special qualifications for his post was his knowledge of Welsh; he is otherwise described as a man of unblemished character and possessing great foresight. He had need of his qualities, for South Wales was at the time in a most disturbed condition. His first year of office was marked by an attack made upon him while he was performing ecclesiastical functions at Llanbadarnfawr, near Aberystwith. Such was the atmosphere in which the great building bishop lived for some twenty years.

Gower's distance from the capital did not by any means absolve him from secular duties, and on several occasions he is found taking part in the troubled politics of the time. Twice at least he served on peace commissions in France. Almost his last recorded act, in 1346, was to lend Edward III. two hundred pounds as part of the national subscription which won Crécy and Calais.

By far the greater part of the bishop's fame rests upon his work in his diocese, not only as artist and builder, but also as a munificent benefactor of his flock. The greatest example of his practical Christianity was his hospital or asylum for aged blind and

sick persons at Swansea, a noble foundation which he endowed liberally with his own private property as well as the revenues of three parish churches.

Henry de Gower has not inaptly been described as the "Menevian Wykeham." [1] To a great extent he transformed his cathedral, giving it the appearance of a Decorated building; he raised the aisles and inserted in them the present Decorated windows, built the south porch, probably the chapels of the transepts, and vaulted the Lady Chapel. To him also is due the pulpitum or screen, which must originally have been a structure equal in artistic merit to most of its sisters in the country. It was an unhappy inspiration which (apparently) caused Gower's executors, or the bishop himself, to destroy the symmetry of the structure by placing his tomb beneath its southern wing.

It was, however, upon the secular building of the see that Henry de Gower expended most of his energy. The greatest monument was the episcopal palace, whose imposing ruins yet survive to afford some impression of the domestic establishment of a mediæval princely bishop—as the ecclesiastical ruler of Menevia unquestionably was. Round the cathedral close he either built or restored the ring wall—a necessary precaution in those turbulent times and in that unsettled district. But this was not all. Elsewhere in his diocese churches and ecclesiastical residences received the impress of his handiwork and, when he died in 1347, the region had at least the

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[1] *Cf.* William of Wykeham's rebuildings and remodelling of Winchester Cathedral.

outward appearance of an organised province of the Church. Having achieved so much, Henry de Gower departed this life and was properly laid to rest in the midst of his cathedral.

The zeal and munificence of the great building bishop left comparatively little to be added by his successors, though some of the most notable details were yet to come. The unique wooden roof of the nave was constructed by Treasurer Owen Pole at some time between 1472 and 1509, and it is considered that the roof of the choir also dates from the same period. Bishop Edward Vaughan (1509–1523) built the beautiful Perpendicular chapel called by his name and added the uppermost stage of the central tower with its somewhat unhappily conceived overhang, which certainly does not add to the beauty of the structure. While the cathedral itself was thus embellished and enlarged, an important addition was made to the subsidiary buildings in the form of the college of St. Mary, which was erected by Bishop Adam de Houghton about 1377, with the aid of Prince John of Gaunt.

Houghton's third successor was one of the most notable figures in the history of the English Church —Henry Chicheley (1408–1414), afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury and the founder of the college of All Souls, Oxford. Chicheley did not, however, leave any trace of his personal activity at St. David's.

Scarcely had Bishop Vaughan put the finishing touches to St. David's Cathedral when the evil was upon it. The intensely religious associations of the place rendered it highly distasteful to the Protestant reformers, and there was an intention in the reign of

Edward VI. of transferring the capital of the see to Carmarthen. The discreditable Bishop Barlow, who perhaps originated the scheme, unroofed the palace in order to impose a barrier upon an intending return thither, and shifted his residence to Abergwlli, near Carmarthen. Indeed, a deliberate policy of neglect set in and was probably consciously adopted. Laud, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, when created Bishop of St. David's, never resided there, and his successor, Field, covered the interior of the cathedral with whitewash. In the Civil War much damage was done: the Lady Chapel and the transepts were stripped of their lead. Spasmodic efforts were made from time to time to prevent the fabric from becoming completely ruinous, but with little permanent result, for in 1775 the roof of the Lady Chapel fell in and St. David's seemed to be approaching the day when it would be in little better case than are Dunkeld and Elgin at the present time.

A first restoration was effected in 1800 from plans made by Nash in 1793. His west front disfigured the cathedral until the second half of the xixth century. Doubtless it was the best which the poor creature was capable of evolving, and much resembled the kind of thing which a moderately imaginative child would construct out of his inner consciousness and a box of toy building bricks. It had a horrible embellishment of sugar - loaf pinnacles or turrets as devoid of beauty and proportion as anything well could be.

Finally, in 1862 Bishop Thirlwall, the historian of Greece, commissioned Sir Gilbert Scott to examine

the state of the decaying edifice and commence the work of restoration. He commenced by repairing the tower, which was in a parlous condition; afterward he scientifically drained the site, thus ensuring more stable conditions, and having achieved this took in hand the restoration of the body of the church. By the last quarter of the century St. David's Cathedral had been raised from the depths of its degradation, and in the early years of the xxth the restoration of the still roofless eastern chapels was completed.

During its years of ruin St. David's Cathedral played a part in the famous episode of the Fishguard expedition of 1797—the solitary occasion during the French wars of 1793–1815 on which a hostile French force succeeded in landing on English soil. The expedition was a minor one, not conceived in the spirit of honourable warfare, but it might have been the forerunner of something on a much larger scale, and it was indeed connected with an expedition of considerable magnitude which came near to achieving success.

In the autumn of 1796 the French military authorities worked out a plan for landing a large army in Ireland, which was then on the verge of the revolt of 1798. The scheme was an old one, dating back to the days of Louis XIV. The man who now revived it was General Lazare Hoche, perhaps the greatest of the soldiers thrown up from the ranks by the France of the Revolution. There is no doubt that Hoche was a born general and military organiser; more than that, he was a very ardent patriot. Unfortunately he had in full measure the deficiencies of a man without

decent education or good breeding. To speak in plain English, he was a "cad," like very many of the officers of the new French army.

The taint of downright "caddishness" unhappily remained with the French army of the Revolution. In this bad school Hoche was trained, and he must not be measured by any high moral standard, great general and good patriot as he was.

Nothing is more legitimate in warfare, when a great attack is meditated, than to distract the enemy's attention by minor operations; and Hoche, in projecting his invasion of Ireland, planned such minor attacks on England itself. But unfortunately he designed no honourable warfare, and the detachments told off for the duty were, deliberately, not formed of soldiers. They were made up of criminals, mostly of the worst type, and their duties were to be those of brigands. They were, frankly, to burn and murder in the English countryside. The officers were simply ruffians; the commander was an Irish-American adventurer named Tate, who seems to have been a dubious character, though certainly not a very bad or barbarous one—the little recorded of him is rather to his credit than otherwise.

Hoche's great Irish expedition ended in failure, chiefly owing to bad weather and the timidity of the French admirals. Seven thousand French soldiers actually landed in Bantry Bay—and came home again, while their general, beside himself with rage and despair, was being tossed about the English seas, so that he was never able to join his men. Meanwhile fourteen hundred of the "Legion des Francs"—

THE ROOF OF THE TOWER OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL
Looking up from a central position. The walls are Early English
work dating from about 1248.

otherwise the second regiment of criminals—under Brigadier Tate, got into the Bristol Channel, and, after a dismayed glance at the rocky coast near Ilfracombe and sinking a few fishing boats, put out again, and finally came to land on 22nd February, in Carreg Gwasted Bay, close to Fishguard Harbour. The whole force was disembarked without much difficulty, and the squadron which had brought it sailed away forthwith, while messengers flew inland to bear intelligence of the invasion to the Lord Lieutenant of Pembrokeshire—John Campbell, first Baron Cawdor.

As far as information went the situation was critical. Fourteen hundred French soldiers had landed and would probably be reinforced. Fishguard had a garrison of barely three hundred. But a fighting Campbell and a virile population had to be reckoned with in any case: and the rest of the case was represented by the fact that the one object of the sea-tossed convicts was to obtain a little rest and ease. There were quantities of foreign wines in the neighbourhood, owing to the recent wreck of a ship. The result may be imagined. In a very few hours the Legion des Francs was helpless for any useful (or nefarious) purpose, being, in fact, completely intoxicated or, at best, torpid with over-feeding. There was no brutal violence: the convicts simply seized food and wine and indulged in them without restraint. Tate did his best to keep a little order, and even tried to get his ruffians to restore property which they had stolen.

Meanwhile the people of the countryside were simply marching *en masse* against the invaders—the

women tramping along with them carrying food and supplies for their men. Before dark on the 23rd Lord Cawdor was at Fishguard with 320 militia and 60 yeomanry to add to its garrison, while men were on the roof of St. David's Cathedral ripping off its lead, which was hurriedly cut up or moulded into bullets. To Fishguard rode all the neighbouring gentlemen, and after them went every man who could find a weapon. By dawn on the 24th Lord Cawdor had at Fishguard about seven hundred properly equipped and more or less effective fighting men, and in the near neighbourhood were some two thousand furious Welshmen, armed with every kind of weapon from muskets to pickaxes. The Welsh countrywomen with their high black hats and red cloaks were busy assisting the men.

Tate's disreputable force was a mere mass of drunkards, and he knew that the foolish enterprise was hopeless. He sent a message to Lord Cawdor offering to capitulate. Cawdor replied that his force was already much superior to Tate's and was hourly increasing. So Tate must surrender at discretion! All which Tate could see confirmed the alarming intelligence. The hills seemed to be swarming with red coats and there were splendidly uniformed officers directing them. The red coats were mostly the red cloaks of the Welshwomen, and the brilliant staff officers were the gorgeously uniformed yeomen troopers! But this poor Chef-de-Brigade Tate could not discern, and he did know that his fourteen hundred ragamuffins were useless. So he surrendered before the bullets made from the lead of the cathedral

should find their billets in the bodies of his wretched command.

The episode is intensely humorous; its sequel was even more so—admitting that to the French Directory, and especially to Carnot and Hoche, the humour must have seemed very acrid. The British Government proposed an exchange of prisoners. The French Directory refused. Thereupon Downing Street replied that it proposed to dump the fourteen hundred undesirables back in France to do whatever mischief might seem convenient to them, without troubling about an exchange. The Directory collapsed and agreed to an exchange. France was burdened once more with a mass of convicts whom her misguided rulers would have been glad to see drowned, and in return for them England received back fourteen hundred good seamen and soldiers, and so the episode ended, very much to the disadvantage of those who had wished to employ unclean methods against an honourable foe.

CHAPTER II

ST. DAVID'S

THE CATHEDRAL — SITUATION — EXTERIOR
AND INTERIOR—THE EPISCOPAL PALACE—
ST. MARY'S COLLEGE

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THE THIRTY-NINE STEPS WHICH LEAD DOWN TO ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL
On the left is the Bishop's Palace and on the right the South Transept.

CHAPTER II

The Cathedral—Situation—Exterior and Interior—The Cloisters and St. Mary's College—The Bishop's Palace

THE CATHEDRAL

Durham is a church perched upon the edge of a precipice. Ely is a cathedral set upon a hill; Canterbury, Salisbury and Winchester are as mountains of carven stone rising from verdant plains—but St. David's is a religious fane sunk in a hollow; and the strange seclusion of the tiny city in which it lies is something not realised until it has been visited. Sixteen miles and seventeen hills, according to the local saying, separate it from Haverfordwest—sixteen miles of open hilly country with not many signs of habitation. Up hill and down dale runs the winding road, past the towering Castle Roch, to the shores of St. Bride's Bay, then up a ridge, topping which there appears for a moment, over the crown of a hill ahead, the uppermost stage of a pinnacled tower. Dropping down into the romantic gorge of Solva the tower vanishes from sight, not again to appear until one is almost upon it.

The "city" is, no doubt, the smallest in England,

though it has scores of rivals in that respect in western America, where nearly every promiscuous collection of sheds is dignified or rendered ridiculous by some urban appellative. It has been described as having an air of desolation, but that is not the impression

THE PICTURESQUE CREEK OF SOLVA NEAR ST. DAVID'S

made upon the writer; though a slumbrous atmosphere may be somewhat apparent, there is at the present time rather an appearance of prosperity on a small scale. Proceeding along the principal thoroughfare one reaches the market cross, and detects beyond it, in the interval between two humble dwellings, a grey pinnacled tower rising apparently out of the bowels

ST. BRIDE'S BAY

Looking westwards towards the rugged and cliff-girt peninsula of St. David's.

of the earth. A few strides farther, and the visitor stands on the lip of a green hollow, on the floor of which rises the greatest of Welsh cathedral churches, hiding, as it were, from the eyes of mankind—from the very " city " which owes its existence to it.

The entry to this nearly unique close is beneath a tower gateway, the only survivor of the four which once pierced the mile-long enclosing wall built by Bishop Gower. It is in a ruinous condition; the gatehouse itself does not seem to be connected with the octagonal tower which flanks it on the north side, and it is highly probable that the latter was originally an independent building. It is considerably earlier in style and was very likely erected by one of the bishops between Peter de Leia and Gower—perhaps Richard de Carew (1256–80). Passing beneath the archway the descent is made to the cathedral by a flight of thirty-nine steps—which, it is almost needless to say, have been christened the " Thirty-Nine Articles."

The Exterior

It cannot be said that the exterior of the cathedral, viewed from the lip of the hollow near the gate-house, is especially beautiful. There are a certain hardness and rawness in the appearance of the masonry, due to the restorations, and there is a not very pleasing contrast between the high-pitched roofs of the transepts and the nearly flat ones of the nave and choir. The outline of the tower, owing to the unfortunate inspiration of the builders of Henry de Gower, is not satisfactory, and the overhanging parapet and dwarf

pinnacles have been severely criticised, though they did not especially displease the writer. Their defects are obvious enough, but a crown like that of Canterbury or Gloucester would not be congruous with the simplicity of this Welsh sanctuary; and the tower of St. David's is in admirable keeping with the main building, also with the somewhat stern and bleak landscape in the vicinity.

From whatever quarter the cathedral be viewed the tower completely dominates the prospect: there is nothing to distract the eye from the stern dully-purple mass which harmonises so well with the sombre green hills stretching away to the west and north. The keynote of the exterior is, indeed, great, almost archaic, simplicity: the aspect of the clerestory of the choir is fortress-like. The view from the north-east is not dissimilar; the tower, in fact, controls and commands from every quarter.

From the north-west the most noteworthy feature —not at all a pleasing one—is furnished by the huge buttresses, dating from the xvith century, which were piled against the north side of the nave in order to prevent collapse of the walls and arcades. Necessary they unquestionably were, but it is unfortunate that there seems to have been no one able to conceive and carry out a scheme which would have rendered them less unsightly. They give an extraordinarily chaotic aspect to the cathedral on this side.

THE WEST FRONT is a restoration by Scott—on the whole a not unsuccessful one, carefully based upon a drawing in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, which showed the cathedral as it appeared before

THE GIGANTIC BUTTRESSES ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE NAVE OF
ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

They were added in the XVIth century, when there were signs
of a serious collapse.

Nash laid his clumsy hand upon it. The present defect
is the newness of the masonry, but this, it may be
hoped, will presently be removed by the salt-laden
gales from the Atlantic. At its worst, and granting
that Scott was a mere careful copyist, his front is not
offensive; indeed it is, upon the whole, pleasing, and
the purplish hues of the Caerfai stone used in the
restoration seem rather to relieve the appearance of
coldness which is given by uniform grey.

Generally speaking, the appearance of the cathedral
from without is one of severe simplicity. There is
absence of ornament, except that of the parapet and
pinnacle of the tower, the Decorated windows of the
aisles, and the Perpendicular openings in the walls
of the eastern chapels. The choir resembles a fortress
rather than an ecclesiastical edifice. But withal there
is much which pleases in St. David's Cathedral; the
architecture of the nave, with its sternly chaste
Romanesque clerestory above and Henry de Gower's
fine Decorated windows below, is highly dignified. St.
David's is no virgin goddess like her sister of Exeter,
nor yet a fascinating beauty like Salisbury; she is a
quiet gentle lady, making no pretensions, but modest
and self-possessed in her unadorned quaker gown.

The Interior

The South Porch was added by Bishop de Gower,
and it is without doubt one of the most remarkable
details of the cathedral. It may be described as a
"Jesse Portal," the enrichments portraying the fami-
liar subject of the genealogy of Christ. At the left-

hand spring of the graceful Decorated arch is a quaint figure of Adam with Eve issuing from his side. On the right side is a recumbent sculpture of Jesse with the genealogical tree springing out of him. The sculptures have been much worn and damaged, but the Crucifixion may still be discerned, as also David with his harp. Over the apex of the arch is a sculpture of the Holy Trinity with angels on either side.

The doorway is not shafted, the jambs being enriched in continuation of the elaboration of the arch. In its original state the portal must have been a most gorgeous conception, but it is difficult to call it beautiful. The outline seems faultless, but the projecting square bosses are annoying; and the three standing reliefs upon the crown of the arch form a somewhat barbaric conception. The doorway is indeed magnificent in decoration, but there is no restraint about it, it is æstheticism run wild.

Passing into the interior by the south porch three general features immediately impress themselves upon the attention of the spectator. The first is the richness of the internal decoration as contrasted with the external simplicity. The second, which is realised as soon as a few steps in advance have been made, is the remarkable rise from west to east; the difference in level between the west end and the pulpitum is over two feet, and one experiences a curious sensation of striding uphill as the nave is traversed. The third, which becomes apparent as early as the slope, is the manner in which the arcades have been thrust outwards by the combined influence of unstable siting and earth tremors.

APPROXIMATE
BUILDING DATES

1180
1220
1248
circa 1290
1328–1347
1384
1461–1522
Modern

Lady
Chapel

Vaughan
Chapel

Choir

Chapter
House

North
Transept

South
Transept

Cloister

Nave

Font
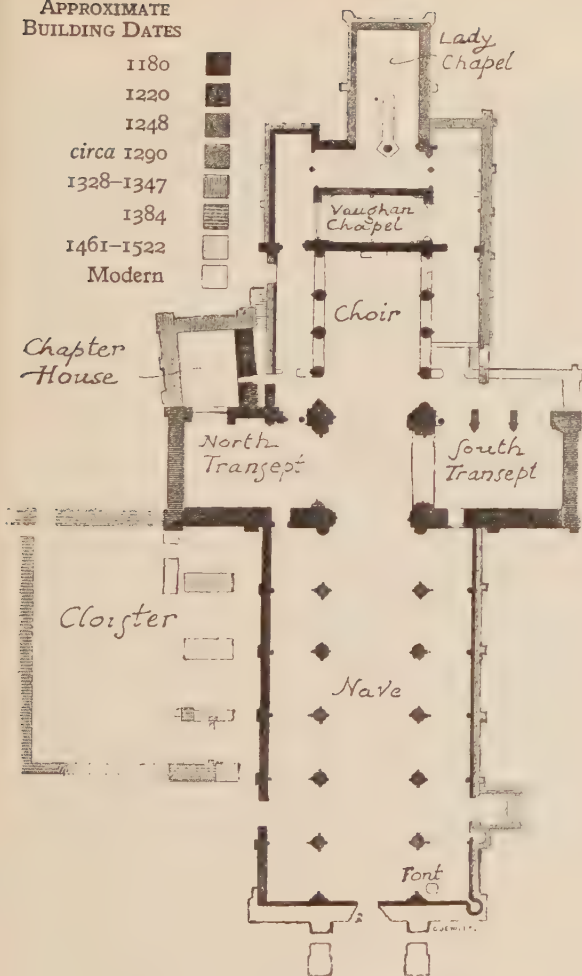
PLAN OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

THE CLERESTORY AND ROOF OF THE NAVE OF ST. DAVID'S
CATHEDRAL

The unique wooden roof was constructed by Treasurer Owen
Pole between 1472 and 1509.

THE NAVE consists of six bays to the transeptal crossing, but the pulpitum is somewhat in advance of the two westward piers of the central tower, so that the nave in use is not quite so extensive as it stands structurally.

The general style is remarkable, for it is Transitional Norman–Early English, with a character all its own. The piers display much originality. They consist alternately of a main column of circular plan and one having that of an octagon. On each side of this central structure is imposed a slender shaft; and on the fourth—that is, on the side of the aisles—is a most elaborate shaft-grouping consisting of three yet slenderer columns imposed upon the subsidiary one. The bases of these remarkable piers are practically Early English; but the capitals present much variety and interest. Those of the main central columns are simple enough, but many of those of the flanking shafts are remarkable, sculptured with designs of stiff-leaved foliage which display not only considerable fancy, as would be expected from imaginative Celts, but also a quite distinct classical feeling. The most beautiful of them is generally considered to be one on the south-eastern pier, just to the westward of the screen: it is delicious for the fertility of its fancy and skilful artistry.

From these turret-like piers spring Romanesque arches of most admirable contour, sixteen feet in span and almost twenty in height from floor to crown. This broad span has a most happy effect: despite the bulk of the great tower-like piers, the general feeling is actually that of lightness and grace. Not less admir-

able than the outline of the arches is the wise restraint
of the ornamentation of the splendid sweeping curves.
Each has one band of moulding and no more, but it
is a delight to see. Anyone of less refined artistic
taste than the man who designed the cathedral would
have loaded the entire arch with ornament, to the
wearying of the eye. Not so Peter de Leia and his
master-masons; and hence the arcades of St. David's
are pleasing to the sight and satisfactory to the intel-
lect. The man who conceived them was a true artist,
able to issue with decision the fateful command:
"Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther!"

THE CLERESTORY. Upon the main arcade stands the
high clerestory, with which is peculiarly associated and,
as it were, interwoven, the triforium. The organisation
of this part of the building is especially noteworthy.
Above each semicircle of the main arcade are two
enriched Romanesque arched recesses. There are no
piers, the sides of the openings being enriched in con-
tinuation of the embellishment of the arch. Between
each pair of arches is a double pilaster, and the two
arches of each pair are separated by a single one. The
contour of these openings is excellent, as is that of
the small round-headed windows.

THE TRIFORIUM. Across the lower part of the
clerestory is carried the triforium. To each arch
of the former there are two of the small openings
of the triforium, but in place of the Romanesque
arches these are Early English pointed apertures of
extremely delicate outline. They are without enrich-
ment, but in the spandrels between each pair are
medallions, some of which are sculptured with a

curious starlike design, others with what seems to
be simply a mediæval development of the spiral
ornamentation dear to the Celt of ancient days. The
whole conception displays much skill, and the general
effect is exceedingly rich. Indeed it is too rich for the
much simpler and more chaste main arcades, and the
medallions of the triforium are in ill-keeping with the
simplicity of the openings.
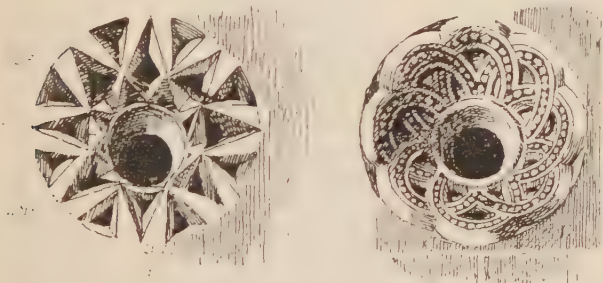
TWO OF THE RECESSED MEDALLIONS IN THE SPANDRELS OF THE
NAVE TRIFORIUM OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

THE ROOF. Crowning this magnificent, if not fully
satisfying structure, is the gorgeous timber roof, usually
attributed to the Treasurer Owen Pole (1472–1509). It
is a very curious construction and, in a sense, is as
much a sham as is the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral;
in any case it conveys a false impression, for whereas
it appears to rest upon arches springing from the
pilaster-shafts of the clerestory, these arches are
actually pendants—huge drips, as it were, which, so
far from supporting the roof, depend from it! In
other words, the flat portion of the ceiling appears to

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rest upon giant rafters thrown across the church
from clerestory to clerestory. Each rafter presents
the appearance of three gorgeously carved and fretted
arches, those of the wings springing from the clere-
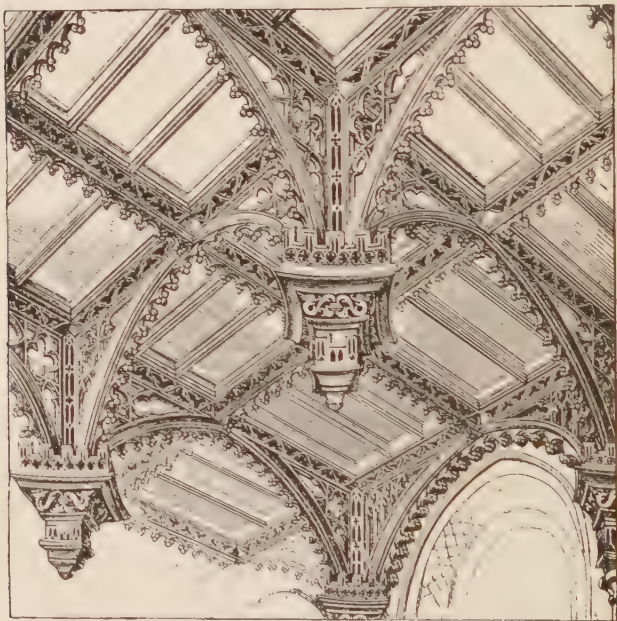
DETAIL OF THE NAVE ROOF OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

story, while that in the centre depends for its support
upon the others. That is the appearance of the ceiling,
but it is very far from the reality.

The general effect of the construction is that of
extraordinary gorgeousness amounting to restless and

hectic splendour, of the kind which El Vathek was made
to imagine by Beckford. Indeed, though as a roof no
very valid artistic criticism is to be offered regarding
it, the writer must repeat the observations made by
others who have written in the past, and pronounce
that this gorgeously beautiful composition of sculp-
tured beams and fantastically fretted pendants is not
quite the fitting crown for a sacred edifice. Its right
place was in a presence chamber wherein King Henry
VIII. or his daughter of immortal memory should sit
enthroned in their magnificence. As a conception it
is not good, for it cuts athwart the stately chancel
arch and so spoils the internal prospect. It should
have been storied instead of flat, and then much less
could have been urged against it. Wonderful in detail,
it is not quite an artistic success either in itself or in
its setting.

THE AISLES are part of the original design of the
cathedral, but were remodelled by Bishop Gower.
They are not architecturally of any special interest,
the chief detail to be noticed being that while on the
north side the grouped shafts, from which the vault-
ing was designed to spring, are equal in height to the
great piers upon which they are imposed, on the south
aisle they are considerably shorter. The vaulting was
never carried out in its entirety, perhaps hardly even
commenced; only at the eastern end are some traces
of the work projected by the most magnificent of the
bishops of this remote diocese.

Both aisles are lighted by the Decorated windows
inserted by Gower, six on the north side, five only on
the south, one bay being occupied by the porch. Their

outline is good, and care was taken to avoid rigid regularity and consequent monotony by employing two designs of tracery. There is not the variety which appears at Exeter, but it is perhaps not fair to institute a comparison with a building which for absolute beauty in its interior seems to the writer to stand alone among the churches of England. Henry de Gower, as far as can be judged from his works, had all the instincts of an artist, and any shortcomings in his adornments of the cathedral may be attributed to lack of means rather than want of inspiration.

Monuments in the Nave. There are not in the nave of St. David's the many memorials which are usually to be found elsewhere: the extreme remoteness of the place doubtless has had something to do with this. The one important monument is that of Bishop John Morgan (1496–1505). From its date one need not be prepared for anything very impressive. It is a table-tomb and the architectural scheme is not very good. The panels of the sides are oblong with their upper corners rounded off—as much as anything like a printer's frame to an etching. The sculpture is very much superior to the general design of the tomb. In particular the relief of the Resurrection of Christ at the foot is a work of real merit; the figures of the Ascendant Saviour and the slumbering guards are executed with great grace and virility; and the representations of the apostles on the side panels are scarcely inferior. The effigy is in full canonicals; the pillow on which the head rests is supported by two angels. On the panel at the head of the tomb is a griffin, Morgan's arms, with the initials W. I. in a cypher. Thus Jones

and Freeman, who profess themselves unable to interpret it. The writer offers two guesses. The first is that in an access of what Carlyle would call "friskiness" the bishop or his executors inverted the M of his name, thus producing an apparent W. The other is that I. W. may stand for Johannes Wallensis (John of Wales), a fairly appropriate title to be assumed by a Welsh Morgan.

Opposite to Bishop Morgan's monument, beneath the easternmost window of the south aisle, is the beautiful recess-and-canopy tomb of a priest. The design of the canopy is of a type found in profusion in Bristol Cathedral, but hardly anywhere else, its exterior outline being that of a half-octagon with incurved sides and finials at the angles. The tomb is not by any means so beautiful as those in the cathedral by the Avon, but is none the less interesting. It clearly dates from the time of Henry de Gower, and is probably that of one of the cathedral dignitaries.

THE FONT is unquestionably ancient, and may perhaps in part date back to the days of the pre-Norman bishops, but the base cannot be earlier than the XIIIth century. It is octagonal and decorated with blind pointed arcading of no special merit—in fact the sculpture is rude.

WALL PAINTINGS. The piers of the nave still exhibit traces of wall paintings, but of their original merit and beauty it is impossible to judge owing to the obliteration caused by Bishop Field's whitewash. The ordinary visitor will hardly have time or patience to endeavour to trace the faded remnants. Those on the third right-hand pier, counting from the west end, are

the best preserved—or rather, the least obliterated—
and figures of the Virgin, Christ and the four evan-
gelists may dimly be made out. There is also the
portraiture of a king in armour, which from its style
as well as the presence of the letter H, should repre-
sent either Henry IV. or Henry V.—probably the
former. Both monarchs had much concern with Wales,
the former as king, the latter as prince and commander-
in-chief.

The ritual choir is beneath the tower, as was usual
in Benedictine monasteries, and has been perpetuated
in cathedrals which were once monastic churches.
The fact is curious and interesting, because it indi-
cates that the monastic character of St. David's
sanctuary always clung to it and influenced its
arrangements.

THE ROOD SCREEN OR PULPITUM. In front of the
two great western piers of the tower is the pulpitum
or rood screen of Henry de Gower. It is a wide,
chambered structure like that of Gloucester, honey-
combed with chambers and recesses, not at all the
absolutely perfect combination of architectural sim-
plicity and loveliness of detail which is represented
by Walter de Stapeldon's erection at Exeter. If
Gower's tomb be really an integral part of the work,
it can but be said that there never was any unity of
design. Certainly the aspect of the whole is to-day
irregular and heterogeneous.

In principle the building consists of a solid dwarf
wall, with chambers wrought in its thickness, pierced
by a doorway, and with its faces enriched by arcading.
This design, however, was abandoned at the time of

LOOKING SOUTHWARDS ACROSS THE WEST END OF THE NAVE OF
ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

The Romanesque font appears at the west end of the south aisle.
It is noticeable that the west wall leans outwards.

its construction or later, and the southern wing was remodelled so as to incorporate the tomb of the bishop, while the space between the sepulchre and the central arch was filled by a niche and some incongruous open panelling. Along the crest runs a Perpendicular recessed parapet of oak, part original, part restoration of the early xixth century.

The central doorway is beautiful; I prefer it to the inner doorway of the south porch as being quite as chaste in outline and more restrained in embellishment. To the right of it are the niche and panel mentioned above, and beyond them the tomb of de Gower. To the left is a Decorated arcade of three bays, with slender shafts and elaborated arches, carried upon a plain masonry wall. To complete the description it must be added that there is on the northern side an oblique-fronted extension through which an entry is obtained to the organ loft. The niches, after being long empty, are once again filled with statuary, and the façade presents an appearance of rich though irregular completeness.

The passage through the pulpitum to the choir is vaulted in two bays; the vaulting has peculiar fluted groining ribs. From each side of the first or western bay opens a tomb-chamber entered through a crocketed Decorated arch; while the southern extension consists of the tomb of Bishop de Gower. This consists of a small chapel, rather than a canopy, of extremely rich Decorated architecture. The sides are formed by elaborated arches, of which three are open and the fourth filled up. Their design is peculiar. As in the case of the doorway of the south porch they

have no piers proper, but enriched jambs. The crocketed embellishment, however, springs from a slender shaft. At the corners are two-staged turret buttresses terminating in pinnacles, the tops of which are cut away so as to receive the highly elaborated cornice. The general effect is one of extreme magnificence, but that the structure is an artistic success can scarcely be maintained. It is somewhat squat and a little heavy, and the truncating of the pinnacles in order to transform them into rudimentary columns is a device much more barbarically bizarre than artistically ingenious.

The arches are now closed with wrought-iron railings, replacing the wooden pales which were substituted in the xviith century for a "brass pallisade" ruined by the iconoclastic zeal of the Parliamentary soldiers when they invaded South Wales. Within is the table-tomb, its south side sculptured with somewhat stiff figures of saints and apostles, and carrying on its upper slab the effigy, much mutilated, of Henry de Gower, the greatest of the builder-bishops of St. David's, in full canonicals, the feet resting upon a lion. The right hand has been battered off; it was raised in the act of benediction.

The most cursory survey of the pulpitum must convey the impression that it has been at various times much altered and remodelled; to me it seems that Gower's original design was never completed. The general effect is one of rather chaotic irregularity, and I can by no means agree with those who consider this irregularity pleasing.

On the pulpitum, according to the ancient rule,

stands the organ, a modern one by Willis, excellent
as a musical instrument, but most unsightly in itself.
It supersedes one built about 1703-4 by Bernhard
Schmidt (Father Smith), and it reflects extreme dis-
grace upon the dean and chapter (or, perhaps it
should be said, their advisers) that the
fine case of Norwegian oak, with sculpture
of the school of Grinling Gibbon, was
broken up. Only a few fragments have
been saved and worked up into an organ
screen for the church of St. Martin at
Haverfordwest. The restorers of St.
David's showed far less respect for the
works of the past than those of Exeter
and Gloucester. The xviith-century organ
cases of these cathedrals may not be things
of beauty and a joy for ever, but they are
infinitely superior to the bald ugliness
of the modern joinery at Wells and St.
David's.

THE TRANSEPTS. As the choir is beneath
the central tower, the transepts are separ-
ated from one another; also they are not
connected with the nave by open arches,
but by doorways of the Transitional period.

CELTIC SHAFT
IN THE SOUTH
TRANSEPT OF
ST. DAVID'S
CATHEDRAL

In addition, the arches leading from them into the
choir aisles are much narrower than the latter, so
that both transepts have all the appearance of inde-
pendent chapels. They are of a more advanced Tran-
sitional Norman–Early English style than the nave,
the arches being definitely pointed. Their contour is
good, but they are decidedly too lofty in proportion

to the rather short piers from which they spring. I have noticed the same defect in the famous north porch of Wells. The transepts appear curiously bare and bleak after the splendour of the nave, but the fact that they are entirely separated from it prevents any unpleasant contrast becoming manifest. The north end of the north transept is pierced by a single large modern Decorated window; the south wall of the southern one by two pairs of Perpendicular openings. These supersede Romanesque windows. Apart from constructional details the transepts will not long detain the visitor.

THE SHRINE OF ST. CARADOC. In the north transept, against its south wall, is the (reputed) shrine of St. Caradoc or Caradog, a famous Welsh religious solitary of the XI–XIIth century, for whom his eminent sanctity procured from Pope Innocent III. the honour of canonisation, partly upon the urgency of Giraldus Cambrensis. It should be added, in order to remove a possible misconception, that in all probability the obscure Welsh saint is not the same as Caradoc of Llancarvan, the contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth, whom that romancist mentions as a chronicler of the Welsh kings. The two Caradocs were contemporary with one another as well as with Geoffrey, but were distinct personages. St. Caradoc was buried at his own desire in the aisle, near the altar of St. Stephen.

The shrine itself is of very simple architecture. The dwarf wall supporting the slab is pierced by two plain pointed arches and two quatrefeuilles. The slab is covered by an absolutely plain, if not rude, circular arch.

THE DOUBLE PISCINA IN THE CHAPTER-HOUSE OF
ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

It is a beautiful example of Early English work. The
sculpture in the spandrel on the right probably represents
St. Thomas defeating the devil.

Near the shrine is the tomb of a priest showing an effigy beneath a canopy of the Decorated period. Presumably it covers the body of a cathedral dignitary.

THE CELTIC STONES. In the east wall of the south transept are two fragmentary Celtic slabs with characteristic interlaced decoration. One of them can be dated with approximate accuracy, since it commemorates the sons of Bishop Abraham, who was murdered by the Vikings in 1078. The other cannot be dated or ascribed. Elsewhere in the transept is a slab incised with a floriated cross and the head of a priest.

TRANSEPTAL CHAPELS. The chapel which opens from the east side of the south transept is a modern restoration, and is used as THE CHAPTER-HOUSE. From the eastern side of the north transept projects one of the most interesting members of the cathedral, a Decorated structure of three floors loftier than the transept itself. It was planned as the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, probably soon after 1220, and was rebuilt about 1330–35 by Bishop de Gower, who added the two upper floors. The chapel itself is a fine if not especially imposing work of the Decorated period; the well-contoured vaulting rises from octagonal shafts with flowered capitals. The bosses at the intersection of the ribs are elaborately sculptured, one with the head of Christ, another apparently representing Christ adored by angels.

On the south side is one of the most beautiful details in the entire cathedral, a double piscina, Early English in style and therefore probably a part of the original chapel. It has trefoliated heads and the spandrels are richly sculptured, the central one with

stiff-leaved foliage, that on the left with a representation of a bird among foliage, and the third with a subject which probably depicts St. Thomas defeating the devil as he attempts to seize a human soul.

The chamber above was designed as the chapter-house, but at present is used as the library. It is extremely simple, but possesses a beautiful Decorated fireplace, almost exactly resembling one in Gower's palace. The third chamber is still plainer, and hardly merits any description; it was formerly the treasury.

THE CHOIR consists of the space beneath the tower and of the choir or sanctuary proper. The ritual choir is almost entirely confined to the former space and is enclosed to the eastward by a parclose screen—a feature unusual in cathedrals. This is in itself of no special merit, though light and graceful in style; it dates to the end of the Decorated period.

Just within the parclose screen on the south side stands THE BISHOP'S THRONE, an imposing triple structure, its central tabernacled canopy rising to a height of nearly thirty feet. Artistically it is not a success; the truth seems to be that it has been so much repaired that it has become a rather distressing jumble of styles. It was carefully restored by Scott, and when a too minutely scrutinising eye is not brought to bear upon its deficiencies, it impresses by reason of its decoration and complex character.

THE STALLS AND MISERERES. The stalls are twenty-eight in number, and date from the episcopate of Robert Tully (1460–80). They are surmounted by a continuous canopy springing from small grouped shafts which divide stall from stall. The upper portion

of the space between these shaft-groups is ornamented
with tracery. All of this work is mediocre at best: the
right term for it is perhaps the late Victorian one of
"niggling": it reminds one of the weak "feminised"
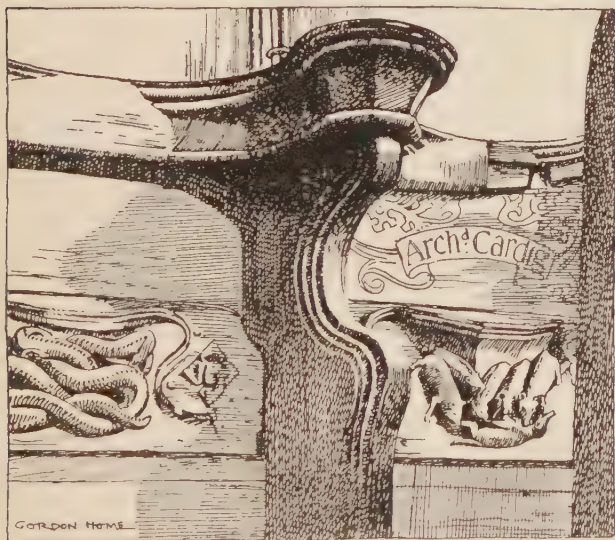
TWO STALLS IN THE CHOIR OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL
One of the misereres shows hogs devouring a carcase.

architecture at the east end of the choir of Wells.
But the stalls themselves are of bolder and better
execution, though still hardly of the first order of merit.

The misereres, however, apart from any question of
artistic merit, more than compensate for shortcomings
in the stalls and canopies. So far as the lay observer

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may judge, the artists were actuated by a lively dislike of the regular orders of monks, for some of the carvings are deliberate and rather savage satires on the cowled fraternity. Much the same feeling is apparent in the sculptured arms of the stall seats. Among the miserere carvings of this description there are: (1) A cowled fox presenting the sacramental wafer (?) to a human-headed goose. The satire is of so crudely savage a character (even supposing that my identification of the offering be erroneous) that it is astounding to find it. (2) Hogs feeding on a carcase—which also seems to convey a double meaning. (3) A cowled bull, which may have been a direct hit at some monastic Boanerges. (4) A double-faced head, which *may* be a freak; but certainly gives the critical beholder "furiously to think." (5, 6, 7, 8) Sundry monkish heads and figures, all apparently depicted as suffering from the effects of over-eating and over-drinking! Other subjects are: two dragons fighting; two coiled serpents; a dragon devouring a man; two dogs quarrelling; a figure on a ship; shipbuilders at work —possibly intended to convey the building of the Ark by Noah; a man swimming. There are besides several conventional designs of flowers and foliage. Though comparatively few in number the misereres of St. David's are full of merit and interest.

THE SANCTUARY. The most interesting and beautiful portion of the choir, however, is eastward of the parclose screen. This portion of the cathedral would, according to normal arrangements, form the choir, and for convenience it will henceforth be described as the sanctuary. As an architectural composition it

THE SHRINE OF ST. DAVID IN ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL
In the foreground is the tomb of Edmund Tudor, Earl of
Richmond, father of Henry VII. (*see* page 75).

is far finer than the nave, for there is to be found the restraint which is lacking in the former building. There are four Transitional Norman bays of great beauty, the well-contoured arches rising from piers alternately circular and octagonal. On this graceful and vigorous arcade is reared the high clerestory of four Transitional openings on either side, without any triforium. These openings are without shafts, the jambs being heavily enriched as in the nave, but, since they correspond in number with the openings of the main arcade, they do not seem to overweight the latter with multiplicity of apertures and excessive decoration.

Stately and pleasing as are the sides of the sanctuary, they are as nothing compared with the east end, which is to-day practically as when it was designed by Peter de Leia. Of the two stages of which it consists the lower is the original work of the master-masons of de Leia, while the upper one is a conscientious restoration from fragments which had been built up in xvth-century alterations. There is no doubt at all that the ancient design has been faithfully reproduced, and none that it is vastly superior to the squatty Perpendicular restoration which it replaced.

The lower stage consists of one of the most superb Transitional Norman triplet lancets in existence. Their contours are perfect; the sides of the pointed heads are so gradually approached that at first sight, and from a little distance, it is difficult to say that they are not pure Romanesque. They have slender flanking and dividing shafts, but the lancets proper within them, as elsewhere in the church, do not possess shafts, but have arches and jambs enriched with four bands of

gorgeous moulding. The ornamentation is so profuse that it should bewilder—but that is not the case: there is simply a strong impression of fairylike delicacy.
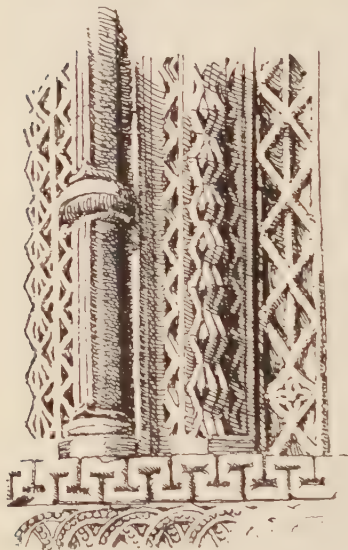
TRANSITIONAL-NORMAN DETAIL OF THE JAMB OF THE EAST WINDOW OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

This splendid trinity stands upon a lofty plinth, its face enriched with blind arcading, with spaces so narrow as to suggest fluting. Above this arcading is a cornice of intersecting semicircular bands, and above this again an embattled parapet, the whole forming a not unworthy support for the triple lancets. Unfortunately the arcading is normally hidden behind brocaded draperies.

The second stage, as restored according to the original design, consists of four smaller lancets, the breadth of the quartet exactly correspondent to that of the great triplet. The effect of the entire conception is one of almost complete harmony. The glass of the quartet is, of course, modern, but not unpleasing. The triple lancets are in any case useless for purposes of light, being blocked by Bishop Vaughan's Chapel;

THE CHOIR AND SANCTUARY OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

On the right is the Bishop's Throne, and beyond the screen
appears Peter de Leia's fine Transitional-Norman east end.

therefore at the restoration the openings were filled with mosaic to form the reredos. This was designed by Mr. Powell, of the firm of Hardman of Birmingham, and executed by Salviati.

The mosaics are not unpleasing, nor are they by any means inappropriate; they harmonise infinitely better with the atmosphere of a mediæval church than the reliefs which are to be found in the reredos of Exeter and other western cathedrals. The subjects are: In the upper portion of the central lancet, the Crucifixion, with beneath Moses and Aaron displaying the brazen serpent. In the left-hand lancet are: above, a figure emblematic of the Christian Church; below, St. David distributing alms. The right-hand mosaic shows a figure typifying the Jewish Church above, and below, St. David addressing the Welsh Church Council of Brefi. The general effect is good; the merit of the design and the quality of the work are considerable. The subjects afford more ground for criticism. I am inclined to question the value from the viewpoint of pure religion of representations of Moses and Aaron and the brazen serpent, and of personifications of the Jewish Church; they seem to occupy space which could be more suitably filled in an Anglican cathedral. Presumably the choice of these subjects was due to personal taste or prejudice. Moses is not absolutely out of place, since the Ten Commandments are to some extent regarded as the foundation of Christian morality—but even so there are many better purely Christian episodes from which to choose.

The four lancets above the reredos are filled with modern stained glass, the subjects being the Nativity,

the Transfiguration, the Last Supper, and the Agony
in the Garden—all of them fitting, and rendering
more incomprehensible the odd confusion of Chris-
tianity and Judaism in the mosaics. With regard to
the latter, a figure representing the Mohammedan
faith would be more appropriate as a support to the
Crucifixion than one of the Jewish Church ("Syna-
goga"). I believe that so far as Jewish doctors are
concerned Christ is regarded as an impostor. Moham-
medans, on the other hand, venerate the founder of
Christianity as the greatest of all religious teachers
save Mohammed himself.

The roof of this truly chaste and beautiful sanctuary
is entirely in keeping, and is much better as a concep-
tion than the gorgeous covering of the nave. Moreover
there is here no falsity of effect. The ceiling obviously
rests upon the five great elaborated rafters which are
thrown across from wall to wall. Each of the four bays
thus formed contains twelve panels, and the bosses at
the intersection of the panel mouldings are shields
of arms. Each panel, furthermore, consists of four
smaller ones. The roof was apparently projected
during the episcopates of Robert Tully (1461–81)
and Richard Martyn (1482–83) and erected by the
Treasurer Dr. Pole a few years later. The cost was
to all appearance defrayed by Bishop Tully; perhaps
also Henry VII. made a donation. The woodwork
was in a decayed condition by the xviiith century,
and was supported by not especially sightly wooden
arches. These were removed and the ancient roof
carefully restored by Scott. The colouring, alone, is
unsuccessful, it is a little too bright.

The floor consists to a great extent of the original xvth-century encaustic tiling, yellow and reddish-brown, as is usual. With these ancient tiles are interspersed, of course, many modern copies; but either they are good copies, or are overpowered by their older fellows, for the general effect is good—there is no distressing modernity about the pavement. The designs are those of the arms of Edward III., the Tudor rose and the arms of the Beauchamps and Berkeleys. The latter are very common, and therefrom Freeman deduces that the tiles came from the famous manufactory of Malvern, which was on the estates of that family.

The altar is modern, but in the floor near it are some ancient altar slabs incised with fine crosses. One of them is only about fifteen inches by nine, and may well have been the covering of a reliquary altar—*i.e.* a stone chest which contained relics, its lid serving as an altar, so that, according to the ideas of that gloomy age, the sanctity of an oath was doubly guarded. It was by such a device, it will be remembered, that William of Normandy endeavoured to ensure the support of Harold Godwinson in his claim to the throne of England. Further to comment upon the primitive mentality which could conceive an oath thus sworn to be more binding than one taken upon the altar of the Deity Himself, is unnecessary. The idolatry paid to relics is one of the bad features of all religions.

To the right of the altar on the south side are the oaken Sedilia, Perpendicular in style and probably dating from the episcopate of Bishop Tully. The

canopies are graceful, decidedly more pleasing and satisfactory than those of the stalls. The buttresses between the seats are also extremely pleasing, being composed of masses of effective tracery surmounted by crocketed pinnacles. They are surmounted by a cornice, the peculiar colour of which implies that originally it and the sedilia were brilliantly painted.

THE AISLES OF THE CHOIR are not especially remarkable in themselves, but it is interesting to note the changes which they have undergone. The southern one is considerably wider than its companion on the north, having been rebuilt in the Early English period. Still later Bishop de Gower raised the walls in order to admit of the insertion of large Decorated windows. At the east end the original height of the side walls and the steep pitch of the roof may easily be discerned. For three centuries after the Reformation they were ruined and roofless until restored by Sir Gilbert Scott. The roofs are therefore modern, but they are quite pleasing—very good and careful copies of woodwork of the Decorated period. The windows are restorations; those on the south side being almost entirely new owing to the terribly ruined condition in which the tracery was found by Scott.

In the south choir aisle are three priestly tomb slabs. Their most interesting feature is that in them can be traced the development of sculpture in monuments of this type. The first is little more than simple incision. On the second the head stands out from the surface, projecting from a species of collar. In the third the head is sculptured in high relief, while the body is more slightly indicated.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE STONE EFFIGY ILLUSTRATED BY THREE
EARLY TOMB SLABS IN ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

Taking them in the order indicated by the numbers, they
show three stages of development, from little more than simple
incision to the head resting on a pillow completely raised in
effigy form, which soon developed into the fully modelled figure.

THE SHRINE OF ST. DAVID. The choir and its aisles contain many tombs of interest. First among them must naturally be placed the shrine of St. David, though architecturally it is scarcely remarkable. Its comparatively undistinguished position in the second left-hand archway (facing eastward) of the sanctuary is peculiar, and it may be that it perpetuates an ancient custom of the Romano-British Church. It is rather the base of the shrine than the shrine itself which once stood upon it — a wooden casket or chest, richly decorated and adorned, which could be and was removed and carried forth on great occasions.

The northern side of this surviving portion is imperfect; the southern one facing the choir is almost intact. It consists of a plinth with three plain pointed arches having simple quatrefeuilles in the spandrels. On this stands a graceful Early English blank arcade of three openings. Despite the possibility that the position of this base may have been due to a Romano-British custom, it is at least as probable that it originally stood behind the high altar, and was moved thence by royal order at the Reformation. Evidence as to the position behind the altar exists in the recess in Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, which was found at the restoration to be a reliquary.

TOMBS IN THE CHOIR. In front of the altar is the tomb of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, father of Henry VII. It originally stood in the church of the Grey Friars at Carmarthen, and was transferred hither at the Dissolution by order of Henry VIII., who naturally would not permit the sepulchre of his

grandfather to be destroyed. It is probable, however, that only the sarcophagus itself was transferred, for it is unlikely that the tomb originally lacked a canopy. It is a table-tomb of Purbeck marble, with elaboration of shallow quatrefeuilles, each panel having within it an armorial shield. The inscription, which need not be transcribed at length, is a restoration by Jones and Freeman; it must originally have been placed upon it by his son, for not until Henry VII. had come to power could Earl Edmund be described as at once father and brother of kings.

Edmund Tudor was the eldest son of Owen Tudor by Queen Catherine de Valois, the widow of Henry V. It is not quite certain if they were ever married, but the children were recognised as legitimate by Henry VI.—an action somewhat unusual in so strictly pious a monarch unless he had good reason to believe them to have been born in wedlock. The year of Edmund's birth was about 1430. He received high honours at the hands of his half-brother, and was created Earl of Richmond (Yorkshire) in 1452. In 1455 he was married to the Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter of John, Duke of Somerset, a girl barely fifteen years old, who is said to have been inspired to choose him in a dream. Their married life, however, lasted barely a year. Edmund died in 1456; his son Henry, who, nearly thirty years later, was to become King of England, was born after his father's death. Countess Margaret married twice after the death of her first husband, and lived to see her son a powerful and prosperous monarch. Her last husband was Lord Stanley, and it was partly owing to the fact that his

THE SOUTH AISLE OF THE CHOIR OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

Between the columns of the Transitional-Norman arcade are uninscribed tombs, one of which is attributed (uncertainly) to Giraldus Cambrensis.

wife was Henry Tudor's mother that the Stanleys joined him on the field of Bosworth.

Side by side in the southern second bay, level with the tomb of Edmund Tudor, are the graves of Bishop Anselm de la Grace (1231-47) and (possibly) of Bishop Gervase or Iorwerth (1215-29). Both have interesting effigies, but that of Anselm is the finer and more perfect.

Passing behind this pair into the south choir aisle there is to be seen behind the sedilia the tomb of a knight in armour of the late xivth century, while in the north choir aisle, exactly opposite, is another sepulchre, obviously contemporary or nearly so. They are ascribed to Rhys ap Gruffyd, the last native prince of South Wales, and his son Rhys Gryg. Rhys died in 1196 and these monuments date from 1400 or thereabouts, but it is not impossible or even improbable that they are xivth-century erections over the known graves of these two Welsh princes.

Beyond Rhys ap Gruffyd's tomb is one which is attributed to Giraldus Cambrensis, but without any special justification, though it is certain that Gerald was buried in the cathedral, and this ecclesiastical monument may perhaps cover the remains of that ancestor of modern journalists—quick, ready of speech and with prejudiced pen, keenly controversial, careless of accuracy.

Opposite to the Tudor monument is the tomb of a physician named Silvester, a fine slab with a floriated cross sculptured in relief and the following pregnant epitaph: *Silvester medicus jacet hic eius* (*que*) *ruina monstrat quod morti* (*non*) *obsistit medicina* (Doctor

Silvester lies here: his dissolution shows that medicine does not withstand death). The less said of the Latinity the better.

East and west of the grave of Silvester are those of two priests: that to the eastward has a Decorated canopy with the only ball-flower ornamentation in the cathedral, except that in the second stage of the tower.

THE EASTERN CHAPELS. The eastern portion of the cathedral is occupied by a curious complex of chapels. At the back of the high altar is one of the Perpendicular period associated with Bishop Vaughan. On three sides of it is an ambulatory, forming practically three more chapels. Eastward from this ambulatory opens the Lady Chapel. The ambulatory and Lady Chapel were, until within the last few years, in a ruinous condition, but have now been restored and re-roofed.

VAUGHAN'S CHAPEL, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, is the first to claim attention, being the single considerable portion of the cathedral in the Late Perpendicular style. Freeman was inclined to place the architectural merits very high, and there can be no doubt that it is a very pleasing structure; while its fan-traceried roof, though on a comparatively small scale, is an admirable example, delicate and restrained as regards decoration and not showing that too exuberant abundance of elaboration which often offends in the work of the Late Perpendicular artists. Many of the details are also excellent, especially one very graceful and delicate niche. The enclosing screens also are very fine as conceptions—slightly stiff, but

THE COURTYARD OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT ST. DAVID'S

The tower and the western turrets of the Cathedral appear beyond the unique arcade which ornaments the long stretch of wall towards the Cathedral.

THE FAN TRACERY OF THE ROOF OF THE VAUGHAN CHAPEL OF
ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

EXTERIOR OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT ST. DAVID'S

Showing the remarkable arcading of the south-eastern front of what was as much a fort as a palace.

From a drawing by H. Gastineau.

delicate and chaste in outline, with delightful sculptured details upon their cornices.

Behind the altar is the recess of which mention has formerly been made as being possibly a part of the
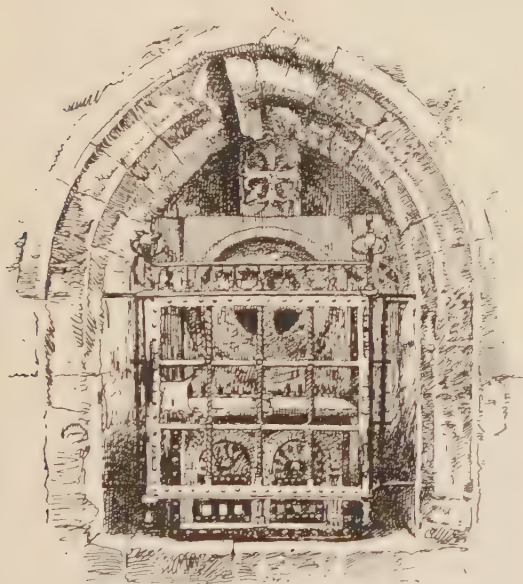
THE RECESS BEHIND THE ALTAR
In which is placed the oak casket containing the bones of St. David and Justinianus.

original reliquary of St. David. It is Transitional in style, dating therefore to the time of Peter de Leia and his immediate successors. Its back is ornamented with several crosses. The lowest of them is considered to

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be the earliest; it may have belonged to the pre-Norman church.

In the recess is the oaken iron-bound chest containing the bones of St. David and his legendary preceptor Justinianus, which were discovered at the restoration of the cathedral by Scott. They were preserved by means of liquid cement and reinterred. In 1921 they were exhumed by excavatory operations under the direction of Dean Williams and transferred to the casket. They have been examined by competent authorities, who came to the conclusion that the bones were those of a very tall man and a short man. One of the skulls is said to indicate great brain capacity. So far as the literary evidence has any weight, it does state that St. David was a man of great stature, and it may be conceded that there is considerable probability that the chest really encloses the mortal remains of the patron saint of Wales.

The recess is now enclosed with ornamental metal railings, and opposite to it has been re-erected the ancient altar, with the customary five sacerdotal crosses incised upon its surface, said, very doubtfully, to be that actually used by St. David. The base has been built up of various fragments, of which the central one seems to be part of a tomb slab, while others show Celtic crosses and foliation, and one the remains of a bas-relief. The reredos is modern, but also contains some early fragments.

THE CHAPEL OF KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR is the southern limb of the ambulatory. It is not remarkable in itself, but contains the tomb of a knight, badly mutilated, a Decorated piscina, and, in the wall above

THE VESTIBULE OF THE LADY CHAPEL OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL
As it appeared before the recent restoration.

the latter, a curious boss sculptured with the heads of three animals, so grouped that, though there are three ears in all, each head has its proper allowance of two.

THE ANTE-CHAPEL, that is, the ante-chamber or vestibule of the Lady Chapel, is formed by the central limb of the ambulatory. It is separated from the northern and southern arms by two extremely graceful Early English arcades, each of two openings. The capitals have a very delicate and pleasing moulding of the type commonly known as nail-head. Two more Early English arches open into the Lady Chapel; in this case they are depressed—that is, they spring from below the capitals of the separating shafts.

THE NORTH CHOIR AISLE is more or less a counterpart of that on the south. Its most notable features are: the recessed tomb of a priest, the effigy being sheltered by a slightly ogee Decorated canopy; and the resting-place of a knight in armour. The effigy of the knight, judging by the armour, is of the early XIIIth century, and, considering that the fashion of armour did not change to any great extent during this period, it might very well be the tomb of that Rhys ap Gruffyd who is supposed to be buried elsewhere.

THE LADY CHAPEL, after lying for a hundred and fifty years in ruins, has recently been restored, and the original vault of Henry de Gower rebuilt. The ancient work has been, as far as possible, incorporated in the rebuilding—a process in itself most laudable, but the result is patchy and not very pleasant to the eye. The chapel, as a whole, is Early English, dating from the episcopates of Thomas Beck (1280–93) and David

Martyn (1293–1327). The fittings and details, however, rather show the hand of Henry de Gower. The sedilia are Decorated; though badly wrecked and battered they must at one time have been very graceful and beautiful; there is something about them, as far as feeling goes, of the delicacy of Walter de Stapeldon's pulpitum at Exeter. Beside the sedilia is a Decorated canopy-tomb with a single arch, not unlike that of Adeline de Lancaster in the sanctuary at Westminster. It is that of Bishop Martyn; opposite to it are the poor remains of one which seems to have been similar, and is plausibly assumed to be that of Thomas Beck. Both of these monuments were probably or certainly erected by Henry de Gower over the remains of his predecessors.

The Cloisters and St. Mary's College

The cloisters have almost completely disappeared; it seems probable that they were built by Bishop Adam de Houghton at the same time as the college of St. Mary. The arcades are best seen on the wall of the college chapel, which faces the nave of the cathedral across the cloister garth. On this side there were nine of them; in style they must have been Early Perpendicular. The remains are so slight that detailed description and discussion are misplaced. In all probability they had only three galleries.

On the north side of the garth stands the chapel of the college of St. Mary, founded in 1377 by John of Gaunt, his wife Blanche of Lancaster, and Adam
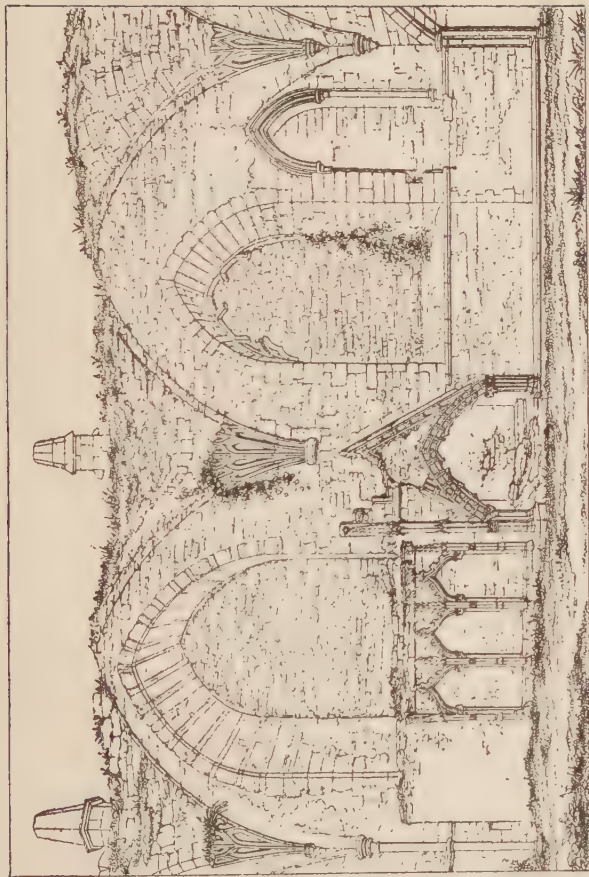
THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE LADY CHAPEL OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

As it appeared in 1852, when it was a roofless ruin.

de Houghton for the maintenance of a master and seven priests. The chapel, though now a roofless ruin, must once have been a very stately Perpendicular edifice. It was wrecked by Nash in order to provide materials for the west front with which that personage

RUINS OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY'S COLLEGE
Adjoining the north side of St. David's Cathedral.

disfigured the cathedral. It consisted of four bays, in one of which was the tomb of the founder. This had no windows. The other three and the east end possessed Perpendicular openings of much merit; indeed the east window must have been one of the finest

examples of its kind in existence. At the west end stands a tall plain tower seventy feet in height, of somewhat peculiarly bleak aspect. It was probably intended to carry a spire, but the unstable site caused this idea to be abandoned, and also necessitated the placing of the buttress on the side of the cloister.

The chapel has an undercroft with an elliptical barrel-vaulted roof, and a row of small arched windows on the northern side. This was entered from the cloister, but the stairway, which must have existed to afford entry to the chapel itself, has disappeared. North of the chapel are fragments of the domestic buildings of the college, including a doorway having a four-centred arch.

THE BISHOP'S PALACE

If the cloisters and the college have almost entirely disappeared, so much cannot be said of the bishop's palace, of which the greater portion, albeit in a ruinous condition, still stands imposingly on the bank of the Alan. In many respects it is the most interesting building in St. David's, for, with all its remarkable features, there are many churches in our island which equal or surpass the cathedral, whereas these palatial ruins have few rivals.

The palace, which is best described as a palace fort, was built by Henry de Gower. Jones and Freeman thought that the ideal of the princely palace much overweighted that of the fortress, but it would certainly seem that the arcaded parapet, which is the

distinguishing external feature, was constructed for purposes of possible defence. Walking round the exterior one obtains the impression of a castle rather than of a dwelling-house pure and simple.

The plan of the edifice was a quadrangle enclosing a space of about forty yards square. The various halls and dwelling-rooms were built upon undercrofts, some of which seem to have been used as lodgings, at any rate in emergency, while the bulk served as storerooms. Few words must suffice for the survey of the most notable apartments. The chief interest lies in the excellent arrangement of the various chambers; with some few exceptions the architectural details are a subordinate feature.

A Chimney on the East Side of the Quadrangle of the Bishop's Palace at St. David's

To the left on entering the quadrangle is the bishop's hall, and beyond it the kitchen. The former apartment is entered by a porch with a semi-octagonal arch — a form which appears in the cathedral, and may have been introduced at St. David's by de Gower himself.

Nearly the whole of the south-western side of the

quadrangle is occupied by the great hall, which is entered through a porch extending to the full height of the building. The entrance doorway has an ogee six-centred arch, and above it are two niches in which, not many years ago, stood statues of Edward III. and Philippa of Hainault. How, when, or why they disappeared seems not to be known, but, seeing that the garth is now used as a tennis court, and that the quadrangle is defaced by a miserable "pavilion" or shed of flimsy boarding, anyone sensitive on such matters can form his own opinions. I am afraid that Nash and Barlow were not the only destroyers of the beauties of St. David's, and that some of them sprang from her own bosom.

THE ROSE WINDOW IN THE GABLE OF THE GREAT WALL OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT ST. DAVID'S

The principal architectural feature of the great hall is a rose window on the south-east side. The centre or hub is an upright quatrefeuille, and is not truly central, having been dropped a little in order to create an optical illusion. The hall in practice consisted of two apartments, the hall proper and a withdrawing-room at the upper end. At the north-east corner of the latter a door leads into the chapel. This must

once have been a place worthy of witnessing the devotions of such a magnificent prelate as Henry de Gower, but is now roofless and windowless. At the north-east corner is the belfry turret with a graceful little broached spire. On the north-western side of the palace quadrangle there is little left; the north-eastern face seems


CHAPEL OF ST. JUSTINIANUS ON THE COAST NEAR ST. DAVID'S

to have been occupied by stables. As a testimony to the half-baronial, half-ecclesiastical life of a prince of the Church in the Middle Ages this striking ruin has few rivals.

On the coast, a few miles from the village city, stands the ruined chapel dedicated to Justinianus, the legendary teacher of St. David. It is a very simple Late Norman structure, almost devoid of ornament, but interesting by reason of its associations and impressive in its solitary desolation.

CHAPTER III

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL
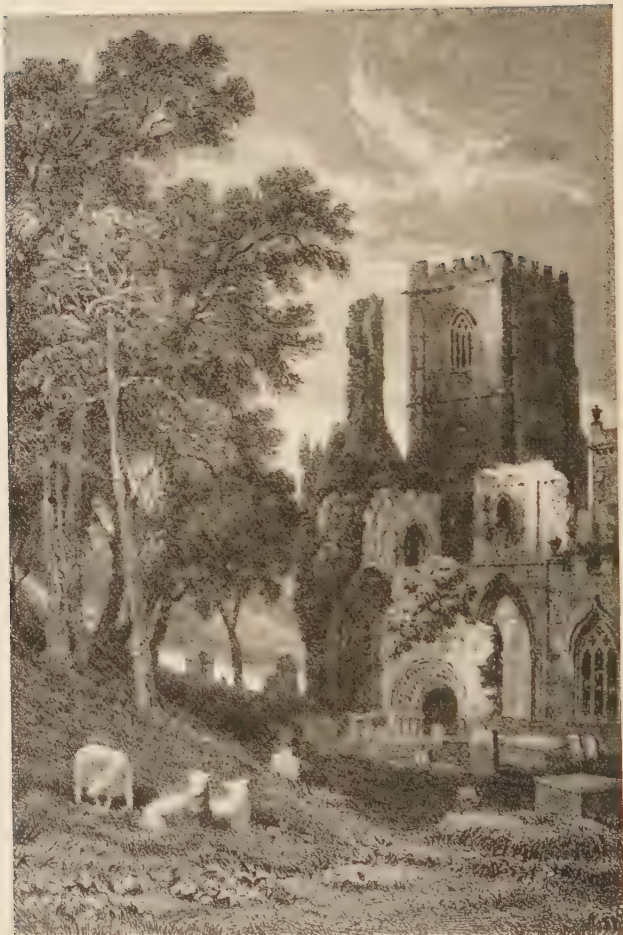
LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL BEFORE THE RESTORATION

The south-western tower fell in the gale of 1703, and later in the same year most of the roof of the nave fell in. A corner of the pseudo-classic building erected in the nave just shows to the right of the tower.

Drawn by H. Gastineau.

CHAPTER III

History and Building — Ruin — Restoration — The Cathedral as it exists — Exterior and Interior

The **Cathedral** of St. Peter at Llandaff is one of the smallest and most unpretending in Britain, yet it has its special beauties and features, and its associations are more than usually interesting, for there is very little doubt that a religious establishment has existed here since the vith century of our era.

It is, however, a far more difficult matter to give personality to the shadowy figures of the Welsh saints Teilo and Dubricius, with whom the church is associated. There is no doubt that Dubricius or Dyfrig was a genuine bishop of the vith century, but there is no evidence that he was connected with Llandaff other than that of the xiith-century *Liber Landavensis*, which, along with some possible scraps of history, contains also fables which shriek their falsity. The statement that Dubricius was consecrated Archbishop of all South Britain and Bishop of Llandaff by St. Germanus of Auxerre is absurd. Dubricius, according to the *Annales Cambriae*, died in 612, and though the date is probably not altogether accurate, his life certainly ended before that year, very likely a little

earlier than 600. St. Germanus died in 448! This is a fair example of the difficulties with which students of Welsh history must wrestle.

Dubricius, therefore, owing to the lack of reliable Welsh history, must remain a shadowy figure, and of Teilo only a little more is known. He was almost certainly a native of South Wales, and the statement of the *Liber Landavensis* that he was born at "Eccluis Gunniau" near Tenby may be accepted. According to one of the Welsh genealogies he belonged to the family of the great Cunedda, who reconquered Wales for Rome somewhere about 400, and thereby laid the foundations of the supremacy of his house. But Lloyd (*History of Wales*, p. 262) says that he was born at Penally, in Demetia. His period of florescence seems to have coincided with the reign of Agricola (Aircol), the good father of the *nequam* Voteporix or Vortiporius, one of the kings attacked by Gildas in his *Liber Querulus*. In that case he must have lived about 500–560 and would have been a contemporary of Dubricius, whereas, according to the legend, Dubricius was the first bishop and Teilo the second.

In actual fact the association of Dubricius with Llandaff was probably due to the first energetic Anglo-Norman bishop, Urban, who transferred his remains to the new cathedral which he reared. On the whole it seems probable that the first bishop of Llandaff was really Teilo, and that Dubricius was, as it were, placed over his head by Urban. As far as is known (it must be remembered that reliable information is very scanty), Dubricius had no territorial diocese at all, but his sphere of activity lay in Here-

fordshire. Geoffrey of Monmouth was romancing when he made him Archbishop of "Legions" (*i.e.* Caerleon), though he seems to have made a shrewd guess at his period.

After Teilo there are said to have been twenty-seven bishops down to 1107, when the Anglo-Norman conquest of South Wales brought about the installation of Urban. The history of the see must during these five hundred years have been a very troubled one: it was vexed and harried incessantly by English, Norse and finally Norman invaders, quite apart from the quarrelling Welsh dynasts. When Alfred succeeded in obtaining some kind of supremacy in South Wales, matters may have improved, but for a long time Danish raids continued and, in 912, a Viking fleet sacked the humble precursor of the present cathedral and carried off the bishop Cimeliauc, whom Edward the Elder ransomed for forty pounds of silver.

The influence of England over the bishopric never really ceased, and it seems that though the occupants of the see were usually Welsh, they acknowledged the supremacy of Canterbury and were consecrated by the English primates. When William I. conquered England, the Bishop of Llandaff was Herwald, said to have been a Welshman educated in England. His name, however, is certainly not Welsh, and he was with equal certainty consecrated by Kinsige, the Archbishop of York. The year of his consecration was that in which Earl Harold of Wessex and Leofric of Mercia enforced the uneasy submission of Gruffyd ap Llywelyn, King of North Wales, who had recently

ravaged Herefordshire. With considerable probability, therefore, it may be inferred that Herwald was made Bishop of Llandaff in accordance with Harold's definite policy of Anglicising South Wales.

Herwald's episcopate was long and, during its later years, purely nominal; the bishop was very old and quite impotent; and the new Norman lord marcher, Robert FitzHamo, was the true master. Everything was ready for a reformation in ecclesiastical affairs;
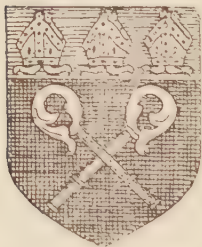
THE ARMS OF THE SEE OF LLANDAFF

the Archdeacon of Llandaff was a certain Urban, most probably placed there in order to prepare the way. The aged Herwald died in 1104, and after an interval of three years, due to Henry I.'s differences with Archbishop Anselm, Urban was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff at Canterbury. Urban was an active, energetic organiser of the type of William de Warelwast and Jocelin of Wells,

an ecclesiastical reformer and a builder. His life was a busy one, and his name is found among those of the bishops who attended the Church Councils of Rheims in 1119 and of Westminster in 1125 and 1127. He negotiated an agreement with Henry I.'s famous son, Robert of Gloucester, which ensured the stability of his somewhat shadowy bishopric, and also a steady revenue. But before this, in 1120, he had begun to build a new cathedral, having presumably collected sufficient funds.

Herwald's cathedral was a little structure with a

THE WESTERN TOWERS OF LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

The north-west tower (left) was built by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and that to the south-west was rebuilt in the xixth century from designs by Mr. W. Prichard of Llandaff.

nave only twenty-eight feet in length by fifteen in breadth, and in all probability it was not much smaller than any other Welsh church of the time. In dimensions the church of Urban was nearly as large as the present cathedral, for it is usually considered that the beautiful Norman arch in the choir is part of his work, and in that case the building must have extended so far eastward.

It is likely that progress to the westward was slow; and the west front was not built until the episcopate of Henry of Abergavenny, nearly a century after Urban had commenced the work. At all events the seal of the chapter in 1234 shows the cathedral complete with four towers, or rather turrets, two flanking the west front and two standing near the east end.

Though Urban had succeeded in gaining a *modus vivendi* for his bishopric, it was another matter to establish for it definite territorial limits. There were boundary disputes both with St. David's and Hereford. Urban fought stoutly for what he conceived to be his rights and those of his see, and when he failed to obtain cordial support from the English bishops, who were probably somewhat indifferent in the matter, he determined to take his case to Rome. He was at the sacred city in 1128 and 1129. Fresh disputes broke out, and in 1133 the energetic prelate once more made his way to Italy to urge the right of his harassed diocese. It was his last journey, and in Pisa the first Anglo-Norman Bishop of Llandaff ended his long and, on the whole, beneficial life.

The vestibule to the chapter-house is thought to have been built by Urban, but the house itself was

probably constructed by Bishop Henry of Abergavenny. About seventy years later Bishop William de Braose added the Lady Chapel. It was perhaps this bishop, or one of his immediate successors, who erected the episcopal castle, of which the gatehouse still survives, the style showing that its date is between about 1280 and 1330.

The cathedral suffered much during the Welsh war of Henry IV. It was sacked by the Welsh under Owen Glendower, but seems to have recovered; and between 1480 and 1500 a great deal of building was carried out and there was much embellishment. Bishop Marshall seems to have given a reredos and a new throne, while Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford and Earl of Pembroke, the uncle of Henry VII., built the north-western tower.

Pride comes before a fall, and less than forty years after Jasper Tudor had added a final ornament to Llandaff Cathedral his great-nephew's heavy hand fell upon it. There followed a century of neglect, of whitewash and bareness, and then came the Civil War. In 1703 the south-western tower collapsed, blown down by that fearful November hurricane which killed Bishop Kidder of Wells and wrecked seventeen ships of the royal navy. Later in the same fatal year a great part of the roof of the nave fell in, and in 1721 another storm wrecked the topmost stage of the tower of Jasper Tudor.

For fourteen years the cathedral remained a roofless shell, and then in 1735 the chapter decided that something must be done. It would require an oriental facility of malediction in order to do substantial justice to

that "something" which the Chapter of Llandaff decided upon.

Briefly, they procured the services of John Wood the architect—Wood of Bath. He was a really excellent surveyor and town planner, and to him the city of the springs owes very much of its stateliness. But as an architect he was not above his own age, and, so far as one can see, he was at this time so busy building for Ralph Allen and others that he gave little or no attention to Llandaff. At a cost of seven thousand pounds a hideous pseudo-Classical place of worship was, as it were, inserted into the space occupied by the choir and part of the nave. If funds had permitted, Wood's intention had been to fill the entire available area with his monstrosity and demolish the west front. His project was typical of the feeling for ancient buildings in the xviiith century. And yet—it was the age of the Pitts, of Granville, of Hardwicke, of Mansfield; and Johnson and Hogarth and Gray; of Clive and Wolfe; of the Wesleys and Whitefield, to mention the names only of some of the worthiest.

Wood's " Italian temple," so far as can be ascertained from prints, was as incongruous as anything with which Protestant aridity and bad taste have, during the last five generations, disfigured the cities and the countryside of the English land. But, such as it was, it seems to have satisfied the Chapter of Llandaff for a century, and not until 1835 did the precentor, the Rev. Henry Douglas, commence the work of regeneration by restoring the derelict Lady Chapel. In 1842, after a lapse of centuries, a dean was

appointed—the Very Rev. W. B. Knight—who set on foot a project of complete restoration, and from that time forward the work was never really forgotten. The names especially associated with this really noble work of rebuilding a derelict church, and at the same time not losing the spirit of its original creators, are those of Bishop Ollivant (1850–82), Dean Conybeare and Dean Williams.

The restorers, with a pride which might well have been misplaced, but was not, chose Mr. Prichard, a native of Llandaff and a pupil of Pugin, to execute their plans. As far as possible local native craftsmanship and labour were employed. The work continued for twenty years, with the result that a semi-derelict and degraded ruin was transformed into a very charming and very graceful religious edifice. Defects there naturally are, but considering the conditions they must be regarded as astonishingly few. It may with justice be said that the neglect of former ages has been nobly redeemed, and among the ecclesiastical buildings of Wales, Llandaff is surpassed only by St. David's. As regards external attractiveness it holds an unquestioned pre-eminence.

The Cathedral as it stands To-day

The Exterior

Small though it be, it cannot be denied that Llandaff's Cathedral has much charm, and not a little of this is derived from its picturesque situation. Like its western sister St. David's, it is a secluded fane, and coming from Cardiff, of which Llandaff is now prac-

THE NAVE OF LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

After the hurricane of 1703, when the south-western tower fell, and in the same year the nave roof fell in, the building gradually assumed this appearance.

Drawn from an engraving published in 1842.

tically a suburb, one sees little of it until the edge of the rise near the deanery is reached.

The cathedral stands near the Taff, but on the south and west the ground rises sharply from the base-line of the building, so that one obtains the same impression as at St. David's, of a church in a hollow. But the landscape about Llandaff is far more smiling and pleasant than the bare and forbidding moorlands of Dyfed. The slopes which overlook the church of Dubricius and Teilo are green and wooded, and the tall spire and the pinnacled tower rise heavenward from a mass of foliage.

The ground-plan of the cathedral is very simple. It has no transepts, and it must be confessed that the want of these features makes it somewhat unimpres-sive. Yet the small episcopal church has not only considerable beauty but also a good share of dignity. It is practically impossible to obtain a good distant prospect, but from two points near at hand it is pos-sible to survey the building and obtain a good impression of its merits and demerits.

The best and most impressive view is certainly that from the west, where the ground falls abruptly from the deanery to the very doorway.

From this point it is possible, if the foliage be not too dense, to see almost the whole of the west front, the greater part of which, though restored, belongs to the ancient church. The main façade is indeed simple, but, with one exception, its details are admir-able, and as a whole it is a conception replete with dignity and beauty. It comprises three principal stages and a terminal gable, and for the most part

dates from the early XIIIth century, though its lowest portion is Transitional—not quite Romanesque and scarcely Early English.

This lowest portion consists of a perfectly plain wall pierced by a gorgeous round-headed doorway with a pendent tympanum, which produces a very peculiar appearance of mutilation, as if the column supporting the pendant had been destroyed. It cannot be said that the impression is altogether pleasing—one continually misses the central shaft. The dropping of the tympanum thus appears to have been intentional; it was perhaps due to the fancy of the master-builder in order to afford space for the statue, apparently of Teilo or Dubricius, which stands on the pendant.

The second stage consists of three rather broad Early English lancets, separated by tall blind arches. The outlines of the lancets are very good; there is nothing of that "skimpiness" which occasionally spoils the work of that period. The openings are somewhat recessed, so that they possess a sufficiency of seclusion and mystery and avoid flatness and monotony.

On this really admirable composition is imposed the third stage, which has a single lancet with, on either side, a triple diminishing blank arcade. Above this again is the terminal gable with a single niche, now containing a modern statue. Though modest in dimensions there is little fault to find with this frontage; it is a very fine conception, simple, dignified and graceful.

On the north side stands the massive tower added to the cathedral in the late XVth century by Jasper

THE LATE NORMAN NORTH DOOR OF LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

Tudor, Earl of Pembroke. It is a well-proportioned
square structure of the type to be found in abundance
on the southern shore of the Bristol Channel, with
corner buttresses and a stairway turret. The elabor-
ately-panelled and traceried battlements and ornate
pinnacles are modern, but harmonious and thoroughly
appropriate. The superior elevation of the turret-
pinnacle not only affords a pleasing irregularity, but
also saves the tower from being out of keeping with
the spire which flanks the front on the other side.

It is this spire which is the most conspicuous
feature of the restored cathedral and the most open
to criticism. As a conception, or rather a free copy,
there is not very much fault to find with it, except
that the tower is a little too lofty in proportion to
the height of the spire. This is not very noticeable
and, on the whole, the general effect is satisfactory—
much more so than the central spire of Truro—to
take an example of modern English Gothic. The
lower stages of the tower are excellent—though the
buttresses may be regarded as too elaborate—the
pinnacles are good, and the well-proportioned spire
rises with grace.

It is the upper stage of the tower which strikes
the discordant note. To put the matter in a nutshell,
it is not English, and gives a Gallic appearance to the
building. English and French cathedrals are as the
poles apart: the former are essentially and emphatic-
ally *religious* buildings, while the latter are just as
distinctly the *palladia* of towns. That they were built
with excellent religious purpose no one doubts, but
they are as much civic edifices as the *hôtels de ville*.

Now there is nothing of this spirit in the secluded cathedrals of mediæval England, and the introduction of foreign architecture introduces a feeling alien to that which inspired the English builder, to whom elaboration for elaboration's sake was abhorrent— just as very few Englishmen, even the recent products of modern free education, are inclined to argument for mere pleasure. Wales is not England, but Llandaff Cathedral has all the inherent religiousness of an English episcopal church, and every effort should have been made to ensure harmony between ancient and modern work. Mr. Prichard's spire is right, but his tower is wrong: the upper stage is flatly Gallic, and rather ornate Gallic into the bargain, while to those who are sensitive in these matters the machicolation is hopelessly incongruous with the rest of the front.

It may seem unfair to criticise in this fashion the man to whom Llandaff owes so much, but every restorer should, I think, set first and foremost the necessity of keeping to the spirit of the past. On the whole Prichard did this admirably. It is not difficult to agree with his opinion that a soaring spire, entirely new, would be better than the reconstruction of what seems to have been a decidedly inferior mediæval tower. The spire gives to the restored cathedral its most impressive feature, the mellow hue of its masonry fitly enhances the charms of a very graceful structure; with the exception indicated the details are admirable. Unhappily that exception strikes the keynote and gathers into itself the criticism that it was an artistic blunder. And at the end it would seem that

I must play the part of Balaam, and having come to curse, stay to bless, for withal the spire is the most impressive feature of the cathedral, and it gives to the west front a delightful irregularity, placing it among the most pleasing in the land.

The view from the south-east is pleasing, but not especially impressive. Owing to the lack of transepts there is not a really effective grouping of the component parts of the church. The spire dominates everything, standing in somewhat isolated fashion to the left, while, looking from the right, Lady Chapel, main building and Tudor tower, one after another, as it were bank themselves upon it. The conical roof of the chapter-house strikes a not unpleasant note in the foreground.

The prospect from the north is frankly not inspiring, and though there is near at hand the massive bulk of Earl Jasper's tower, there is equally no break in the monotony of the lines of the church. Again the spire dominates all, and its grouping with the tower is effective, but the foreign characteristics of the third stage, which alone shows above the body of the church, are more than ever evident and annoying. Prichard's inspiration was a most happy one; the spire is an effective crown to the church; in details he failed, like so many more in every profession.

There is nothing extraordinary about Llandaff: in dimensions it is very modest; it lacks features which would give it dignity—and yet it is actually very pleasing. Elsewhere I have spoken of Exeter as a stately and beautiful goddess, Salisbury as an elegant and fascinating beauty, St. David's as an unpretending

but dignified lady. In the same spirit, considering building and environment together, I should compare Llandaff to a pretty maiden who pleases and charms though she does not impress or inspire. It is not slight praise after all, for the world is full of ugly things.

The Interior

First impressions on entering the cathedral are generally those of modest dimensions and unpretentiousness: there are many parish churches as large and inspiring, and this cathedral of an important diocese looks very plain beside the splendour of St. Mary Redcliffe or St. Peter Mancroft. After a time, however, this feeling diminishes and there grows the impression that the modest edifice really is a bishop's church worthy of the name.

The nave consists of five bays of Early English architecture. The main arcade is very largely the work of the xiiith-century masons, and in severe grace is well worthy of the men who designed and executed the west front. There is no triforium; the clerestory stands upon the arcade, with the gallery in front of the lancet windows. Most of this is restoration, but it is in strict conformity with the indications afforded by the remains of the ancient clerestory.

The internal face of the west end is really splendid in design if not in dimensions. It is in fact much finer and more impressive than the graceful exterior. It consists of three stages. The lowest and main stages are woven into one by grouped pilasters at each angle

TABLE-TOMB OF SIR WILLIAM MATHEW AND HIS WIFE (1528)
Under the northern arcade of the dimly-lit nave of
Llandaff Cathedral.

running from floor to roof. The lowest stage has three
divisions separated by grouped piers, with the doorway
in the central one. Upon it is the main stage, with
three deeply-recessed Early English openings enclos-
ing the three lancet windows. The arches spring from
pilasters of seven grouped shafts with capitals of stiff
leaf foliage. Their aspect is most admirable, showing
a remarkable combination of massiveness and beauty;
indeed this stately triplet in many respects holds a
high place in Early English architecture, though its
excellence seems to be little known. On top of the
main stage is the gable, pierced by the lancet which
shows on the west front.

The view down the church from this point is a fine
one, entirely redeeming the small cathedral from the
charge of lack of impressiveness. The survey first
takes in the five strong and graceful bays of the nave,
and the high stately arch separating it from the choir
completes the effect. The commanding height of the
choir arch is set off by the bishop's throne which,
itself a tall structure, appears almost insignificant
beneath the towering portal.

Within the stately entrance a glimpse is obtained
of the two bays of the choir, and so the eye is drawn
irresistibly to the splendid Romanesque archway
which overshadows the altar—one of the finest of its
class in Britain, with its four bands of ornament on
the receding curves and one upon the external face.
The arch is not—at any rate does not appear to be—
an absolute semicircle, but rather more than one,
and in consequence it has a certain Saracenic feeling
which is accentuated by the broad band of external

H

decoration. As a whole it is full of dignity, and perhaps owes its special features to the ebullient Celtic fancy of some local artist.

Beneath this magnificent example of Late Norman art is the altar, and it is only fair to say that the modern reredos is not unworthy of its canopy. It is a triple erection of Caen stone and its style is very good modern Decorated. I think that here Prichard showed himself at his best. He caught the delicate feeling which so impresses the artistic observer in the pulpitum of Exeter, and his reredos is a very fine and most beautiful example of modern art, not at all unworthy to stand beneath the gorgeous xiith-century arch which overshadows it. The panels, also, are appropriately filled with paintings, the works of Rossetti. I have elsewhere stated my conviction that to cover the panels of a reredos with modern sculptured reliefs is hopelessly out of place, and it is therefore no small satisfaction to me to write of this modern work of art which reflects something of the religious spirit of the Middle Ages.

The main subject chosen by Rossetti was the Seed of David. There are therefore in the flanking panels pictures representing the youthful David going forth against Goliath of Gath with sling and stone, and David in the fullness of years and renown as the psalmist-king. In the centre is the Adoration of David's Descendant by the Magi. All these paintings display Rossetti's peculiar qualities, which were certainly well fitted for religious subjects. In the right-hand panel the aged warrior is presented, clothed in the gorgeous robes of royalty and peace, seated upon his throne,

with the fire of poetic inspiration glowing once more in his eyes as the angel at his feet strikes the harp. The conception of the warrior-king at the close of his strenuous life, wandering in the world of poetic fancy, is both fine and beautiful. The setting may not be archæologically correct, but it is in keeping with legend, and it is, after all, in legend that David and Solomon, no less than Arthur and Roland, will chiefly live.

The sedilia are also from the design of Prichard and are good examples of modern Gothic.

THE BISHOP'S THRONE and THE STALLS are all modern, and most appropriately the work of local craftsmen. Doubtless they have their defects, but a local artist will always put into his work for a local shrine an amount of loving care which cannot well be expected from one whose only interest in the matter is a commercial one. There is not, of course, the spontaneity of the artists of the Middle Ages; there is a certain formality and stiffness about the general design of the throne and the stalls. The canopy of the throne also is a little too heavy in appearance for the columns which uphold it. But though details may repel, the general effect is very good, the temptation to overload with ornament having been withstood.

Care has also been taken that the organ shall not offend the eye, as it does in more than one English cathedral. It is placed in the last bay on the north side of the nave and enclosed in an oaken case, a really fine example of modern wood-carving, executed and built by Mr. William Clarke of Llandaff.

THE PULPIT was designed by Messrs. Prichard and Seddon, the architects of the restoration. It is of

Caen stone, standing upon a somewhat too brilliant pedestal of green serpentine with red marble shafting. The reliefs in the four panels are the work of Thomas Woolner, R.A., and are specially interesting as they were executed at the time when the fortunes of the sculptor-poet were beginning to turn. They represent Moses, David, St. John the Baptist and St. Paul, and it may be said that they stand high in artistic merit among the works of a gifted man who achieved success in his noble profession by dint of stubborn courage no less than artistic talent.

This is to be said of the restorers of Llandaff Cathedral, that they spared no pains to procure the services of artists. The result was that they were more than ordinarily successful, and the cathedral which they almost rebuilt has little or nothing of the harsh atmosphere of a restored building. Since the church contains works of Rossetti and Woolner, the critic cannot truthfully say that its decoration is merely mechanical.

The architectural interest of the choir is great. It would seem that it is actually the original choir of Bishop Urban, and therefore dates from the xiith century: this view is supported by its short length of two bays only, which points to Norman planning. In that case the arcades were remodelled as at Exeter. On the south side is to be observed a curious mixture of architecture of the two periods, a built-up Norman arch impinging upon the later pointed opening. Clearly the work of transformation was interrupted and never completed.

The aisles are not remarkable, and their windows,

which date from the middle of the xivth century,
display rather decadent Decorated art, though there
is some good modern stained glass in the church.

THE SOUTH WALL OF THE CHOIR OF LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL
Showing the transformation from Norman to Early English.

" THE FORTY-FIRST FOOT." To right and left of the
west door hang the tattered remnants of the colours
of the Welsh Regiment — " The Forty-first Foot."
On the left are those borne by that unit during the
Napoleonic days; to the right those which it took
with it to the Crimea. The Forty-first has now

achieved a regimental life of 205 years; it was formed in 1719 by Colonel Fielding as an invalid or reserve regiment, and consisted of ten companies of old soldiers. For a very long time it had little opportunity of distinguishing itself in any spectacular fashion, being chiefly engaged in obscure and heartbreaking work in the West Indies. Its chance came in 1812 when, for a variety of reasons or no-reasons which do not concern us here, the United States picked the moment at which Britain was standing at bay against Napoleon to stab her in the back. The Americans naturally invaded Canada, which had then about 100,000 inhabitants of British origin and 250,000 of French blood, who were of course lukewarm if not disaffected. The regular garrison of this enormous and thinly-peopled domain consisted of precisely four regular battalions, the 8th, the 41st, under Colonel Proctor, the 49th and the 100th.

The American forces were, on paper, overwhelming, but the reality fell very short of the vivid journalistic anticipations—which is a somewhat usual feature of things in the United States, as elsewhere. The American troops consisted largely of very raw militia, the generals were mostly politicians and the officers contemptible. There was a tremendous amount of talk and very little effective work. The militia had a pleasing habit of howling for British blood until they found themselves in a position to gratify their lust. They then usually mutinied or disbanded and " gat them home with exceeding great hastiness."

On 12th July General Hull, a political soldier who had seen no fighting for thirty years, crossed into

Canada with 2500 men and issued a proclamation which would have done justice to a "penny dreadful." The main theme was that no quarter was to be given to the tyrant Englishman who fought in alliance with the Indians. The Indians were to a great extent the Shawnees, under their great chief Tecumseh, who had been driven out of the States by the blundering tyranny of officials, and therefore fought heartily with the British.

Having blasted the abominable Briton with words, General Hull sat calmly at Sandwich for five weeks, and when he heard that General Isaac Brock was marching against him with Tecumseh, 250 men of the 41st, 500 other white soldiers, chiefly militia, and 1000 Indians, he retreated across the St. Lawrence to Detroit. On 16th August the American army surrendered—2500 able-bodied men, a month's supplies, quantities of ammunition and 33 guns! So much for vapouring!

Later a few of the regiment helped to win the victory of Queenstown Heights, occasioned by a daring attempt of a new American general, van Rensselaer, to cross the St. Lawrence near Niagara Falls. The American militia made their usual figure by refusing to go to the help of the brave men who were already across, and the latter were all killed or taken—but the success was dearly purchased by the death of Brock.

For two years the 41st continued to defend Canada. It was unfortunate in having a poor colonel, whose lack of skill and enterprise often neutralised the courage and discipline of his splendid regiment. But in spite of this handicap they scored success after

success, though they experienced also a terrible disaster on the Canadian Thames (5th October, 1813), when three hundred of them were killed or captured. This disaster was due partly to Proctor's bad leading, but also to the pressure of numbers, the Americans being at least three to one. But the weakened battalion struggled on stoutly to the end of the war, and if it had its part in the misfortune at Fort Erie, it also had to its credit a splendid share in half a dozen victories—notably the fierce fight of Lundy's Lane, a good stand-up combat between the depleted garrison of Canada and the best of the American regulars, who did themselves credit.

For many years after the American War the 41st, like most of the army, saw no active service, but in 1854 it went to the Crimea with Lord Raglan, and served all through that piteous campaign, in which the sheer courage and spirit of junior officers and rank and file made up for blundering and misconduct of every kind in higher quarters. Of the doings of the regiment during the struggle it is not necessary to speak, for the Crimean War is far better known than the almost-forgotten contest in Canada in 1812–14. The 41st carried their colours to victory at the Alma and at Inkerman, and those colours hang to-day in Llandaff Cathedral, memorials of almost unparalleled English heroism and almost unparalleled British official misconduct. Both phenomena seem characteristic of the race. Perhaps it is better than the converse features of fine leading and poor support, but it may be that in the end it will be disastrous, since "man-power" is a finite quantity and, if it be madly flung away, as in

1854–55 and 1914–18, there will presently be too little of it to make good the mistakes of officials and generals.

THE CONSISTORY COURT CHAPEL. This chapel, now used as the consistory court, lies at the end of the south aisle. It contains an uninscribed alabaster monument said to be that of Christian, wife of Lord Audley, one of the English barons who withstood the rebellion of Owen Glendower.

THE MATHEW CHAPEL. At the end of the north aisle is the Mathew Chapel, granted as a place of sepulture to the South Welsh (Anglo-Welsh) family of Mathew, on condition that they kept the aisle in repair. Of the grant I have not been able to find any record, but it was presumably made by Edward IV., since the earliest burial is that of Sir David Mathew, who bore the royal (Yorkist) standard at the decisive battle of Towton in 1461 and was richly rewarded by Edward—only in the end to be murdered at Neath. His tomb is in the centre of the chapel; beneath the arch which separates it from the choir is that of his son Christopher (died 1500) and the latter's wife, who survived him for twenty-six years. The chapel has of course been restored, but the Decorated corbels of the original vault may still be seen in the corners.

In the east wall is a double-canopied niche, and beneath it a squint or hagioscope bearing on the altar of the Lady Chapel. There is a stone coffin in the chapel which was discovered in 1899 beneath the pavement at the west end of the cathedral.

On the left side is the ancient reredos, dating from the XIVth century. It is certainly in a ruinous condition, and I do not think that the cathedral has lost by

its replacement by the beautiful work of Prichard and Rossetti. Respect for antiquity may be overstrained; just at present there is lamentation on account of the destruction of the paint-bedaubed stucco of Regency London.

THE MONUMENTS are not especially numerous or interesting. In the north aisle is the XIVth-century effigy reputed to be that of Dubricius, whose tomb is said to have been on the right-hand side of the altar. The supposed sepulchre of Teilo is still to be seen on the south side of the choir: it may or may not cover the remains of the Welsh bishop, but in any case its date is of the XIVth century. Bishop Henry of Abergavenny lies in the south aisle, and beneath the northern arcade are the tombs of Bishop Marshall (died 1496) and Sir William Mathew (1528). It is probable that Marshall was responsible for the last great mediæval restoration, and the traces of white roses on the panels of the ancient reredos indicate that this was one of the donations made by him to his episcopal church.

In the north aisle is the grave of Edward Brumfield, Bishop of Llandaff from 1389 to 1391. His chief distinction is that he was master of the school of divinity in the papal palace. This was, of course, after the termination of the "Babylonish Captivity" or French Papacy at Avignon, which came to an end in 1376, and during which the popes were Frenchmen and to all intents French officials.

Bishop Ollivant, the energetic and generous restorer of the church from the degradation into which it had fallen during the XVIIIth–XIXth centuries, is buried

in the churchyard, but there is a monument to his memory in the cathedral itself.

THE LADY CHAPEL is said to have been built by Bishop William de Braose (or Bruce), who died in 1287, and its style bears out the truth of the assertion, being Early Decorated, just emerging from Early English. Unlike the rest of the cathedral, it retains its vaulted roof rising from Purbeck marble shafts. This chapel is not remarkable in other respects, and it cannot be said that the modern decorations are very successful. There are traces of the ancient wall-painting on the south side, a crowned cross being discernible. Near the altar is the tomb of Bishop de Braose. Of his mediæval successors John Pascall was buried here in 1361, but no monument survives to mark his resting-place. A brass tablet before the altar marks the grave of Bishop Coplestone, who was buried there in 1849—the first for nearly two centuries to lie within his cathedral church.

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, though small, is unique, being almost a square, with a quadripartite vaulted and groined roof in four bays supported upon a central pier. The effect is much more novel than pleasing, and the attempt to combine the qualities of a polygon with those of a square cannot be described as a success. Nothing remains of the stone chapter bench along the walls. The upper chamber, originally square, was converted into an octagon by Mr. Prichard and crowned with a conical roof. He was no doubt influenced by consideration of the artistic failure of the square and central column design, but the result was to give a decidedly heterogeneous appearance to the building.

The chapter-house is still used for its original purpose, and also serves as a library and vestry. In the vestibule is an iron-bound chest having three locks, believed to be that in which the records were anciently kept. More interest, however, attaches to the xvth-century painting now kept there, which is a remnant of the throne of Bishop Marshall. It is executed on wood and represents the Virgin ascending to heaven attended by seven angels. Above are two angels with musical instruments, and below another angel, bearing the escutcheon of the See of Llandaff. Beside is a portrait of the bishop with a scroll proceeding from his mouth on which is inscribed: *O Virgo scandens sis Marshall caelica pandens*. The Latin is sufficiently bad, but the meaning is plain: "O Virgin ascendant (to heaven), mayest thou open to Marshall the gates of heaven."

THE RUINS OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE. The present subsidiary buildings are modern. The bishop's castle-palace was sacked by Glendower in 1402, and there now remains only the picturesque gatehouse, which, to judge from its architecture, was built early in the xivth century, at the time when Henry de Gower was erecting the splendid palace at St. David's.

CHAPTER IV

BRECON CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER IV

The former Priory Church of St. John the Evangelist at Brecon, counted the finest ecclesiastical edifice in Wales with the exception of the cathedrals of St. David's and Llandaff, now ranks with them as a cathedral—that of the new diocese of Swansea and Brecon. It was fitting that the bishop's throne should be installed in the church of Brecon instead of in huge, busy and not very attractive Swansea, quite apart from the fact that at the town beneath the towering Brecknock Beacons there was a building not unworthy of cathedral rank, that is to say as far as pretensions go in Wales, whose cathedrals are on a modest scale.

Brecon, as a town, probably dates from the VIth century or even earlier, but the name by which it is now known is no older than the XIth century, being in fact the appellative given by the Norman barons who at the prompting of William I. set themselves to the conquest of South Wales. Its Celtic name is Aberhonddu, but it has always been one of the chief towns of the principality of Brycheiniog, now known as Brecknockshire.

The early history of Wales is extremely obscure

and the extant records are little more than the reflections of tradition. Except in the extreme south-east, where Legio II. Augusta stood on guard at Isca Silurum (Caerleon), and at a few points along the coast, the Romans seem always to have allowed the tribesmen of wild and rugged Cambria to remain very much to themselves, as the Indian frontier clans have usually been left, except at such times as they violently abuse their privileges. Situated as Wales was, it is likely enough that there was much cross-migration between it and Ireland, and there may have been a considerable Irish influx before the time of Irish hostility in the ivth and vth centuries. The policy of Rome during the later period was decidedly to encourage settlements of warlike aliens within the bounds of the empire, and there is good reason to believe that this was the policy followed in Britain.

There is therefore, in default of better evidence, no reason to question the Welsh tradition that Brycheiniog was founded by an adventurous chief named Brychan, who, on his father's side, was of Irish descent—not by a British Cambrian, or by one of the sons of the great Cunedda, who, about 400, expelled the Irish invaders from North Wales.

At the same time, Brychan had some kind of legal claim to rule the district in which his father had settled, since the latter had married a British woman. But in those wild days the only right respected in Cambria was the right of the sword. A great deal might be said about this founder of a local dynasty which played its part in Welsh history for six centuries and more, but when so scholarly and painstaking an

BRECON CATHEDRAL FROM THE NORTH
Formerly the Priory Church of St. John the Evangelist.

historian as Mr. Lloyd calls him one of the most shadowy figures in the annals of the country, the English writer may be pardoned for sparing his words. The pedigree of the lords of Brycheiniog has come down in a corrupt form, and the sequence of names is not very certain. But it may be accepted as a proven fact that the state was really founded by, and named after, a chief named Brychan.

During the Dark Ages the principality appears as involved in the customary Welsh dynastic quarrels and almost endemic civil wars as well as in the perennial struggle with the English enemy to the eastward. In the VIIth century there is mention of a prince of Brycheiniog named Awst (Augustus or Augustinus), showing that even yet the influence of Rome was faintly felt by the wild mountaineers of Wales. Its capital seems generally to have been Talgarth, not Aberhonddu.

There is a tradition that Brychan himself was born at the Roman station of Gaer, three miles from Brecon, which is now in course of excavation, but it would not be quite safe to accept this as a fact. The Kymric princes of Wales seem to have been as little addicted to establishing themselves within Roman walls as the English. In any case Gaer was quickly abandoned for Talgarth.

Brycheiniog might appear to be tolerably well protected by nature, but access into the mountains by the valley of the Usk is not difficult, and thus in the IXth century the Vikings made their appearance there. This was in 896, when the Viking Great Army under the leadership of Haesten was endeavouring vainly

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to overcome Alfred. The raid on Brycheiniog was probably made by a foraging column, for Haesten was, in 896, being chased hither and thither by the tireless Alfred and his energetic comrade Aethelred of Mercia, and in the end was beaten out of England. But doubtless the horde of half-starved pirates did much harm, even granting that mediæval Welsh towns were mere collections of wattle-and-daub dwellings easily erected and easily repaired. Its prince at this time was probably Elise ap Tewdwr (Elisius son of Theodorus). About 900 or 905 he was succeeded by his son Tewdwr, who was unwise enough to provoke the hostility of Aethelflaed, the renowned Lady of Mercia, Alfred's warrior daughter.

This was in 916; presumably Tewdwr had made one of those treaties with the Vikings which he and his fellows were too fond of concluding to their own confusion. But his action may have been due to mere restlessness. At any rate he crossed the border, sacked a monastery, perhaps that at Hereford, and murdered the Abbot Ecgberht on 14th June. It was an ill thing to provoke the daughter of Alfred the Great. Within three days Aethelflaed had sent out her army and the capital of Brycheiniog was stormed. Tewdwr himself seems to have escaped, but the victors carried off as hostages his wife and thirty-four notables of the little state.

Whether the captured capital was Aberhonddu or Talgarth is not known, but it seems probable that it was the latter place. Whether Aethelflaed led her forces in person or not, is unknown; the chronicle simply says that she sent out her soldiers. There

is no doubt that this most remarkable woman did lead her army in the field, and if so, in 916 she may have been with the bands which came into the mountains of Brycheiniog to punish the murderers of Abbot Ecgberht.

Brycheiniog maintained its semi-independent existence for some five generations after Aethelflaed's castigation in 916. This was partly due to the troubles of England under Aethelred the Redeless (commonly "the Unready"). Cnut's interests lay elsewhere than in Wales. Harold Godwinson was strong and determined, and it seems that it was really he who laid the plans for the conquest of South Wales which were taken up by William I.

In any case William had not been long on the throne before Norman lords began to press in upon the Welsh principalities. In 1081 William himself marched right through the country as far as St. David's. He was sufficiently politic and devout to pay his respects to the shrine of the Welsh saint, but his purposes were no doubt mundane and Rhys ap Tewdwr, the chief dynast in South Wales, agreed to pay a regular tribute.

The conquest of Brycheiniog was undertaken by Bernard de Neufmarché. His wife was Nest, the daughter of Osbern FitzRichard by a Welsh princess of the same name. He could thus put forth a kind of claim to the principality, though the barons of Normandy rarely troubled themselves about such matters —with them might was right. In 1093 he penetrated to Aberhonddu, and was beginning to build a castle when he was attacked at Eastertide by Rhys ap

Tewdwr, who came to make a last desperate attempt to stay the invading trickle before it should become a flood. Bernard, however, withstood the onslaught victoriously, and Prince Rhys himself fell in the battle. The Welsh chronicle mournfully says that with his death the kingdom of Wales was overthrown; and it is certain that the spasmodic efforts of the Welsh were never able to shake the hold of the invaders on Brycheiniog.

Bernard de Neufmarché ruled his newly-won fief until about 1125, with his capital at Aberhonddu, which he called Brecon. There he built a castle, using for the purpose, as is probable, the materials from the Roman station at Gaer, as well as those of the "Vetus Villa" at Aberhonddu itself. Whether this Vetus Villa were a posting station or a private manor ("villa") is unknown. Since Brecon lies upon a well-marked Roman road, the name indicates the existence of a settlement of some kind as far back as Romano-British times and perhaps earlier. At some time before 1106 he established a borough there and also founded a priory. With him in his new castle was residing a monk of Battle Abbey named Roger. To him the baron granted the church of St. John the Evangelist without the walls of the new settlement, and as its endowment the site of the Roman station called "Vetus Villa." Roger called to his assistance a brother monk named Walter, and the two rebuilt the church, put up some domestic quarters and collected more endowments. Baroness Nest ("Anneis"), after recovering from a dangerous illness, gave to the new establishment her manor of Tenbury. More

monks joined the rising community and presently, with the consent of Henry I., Bernard constituted the priory of Brecon as a cell of Battle Abbey, with Walter as its first superior.[1]

Bernard's son Mahel quarrelled, rightly or wrongly, with his mother Nest, and was disinherited. The popular belief was that the lady was guilty of perjury. In any case Bernard's heritage passed to his daughter Sybil, who was married to Miles of Gloucester.

The charter shows that when Baron Bernard gave the first endowment to Father Roger a church already existed upon the site. It was presumably a poor and rude construction of the ordinary Welsh type—very probably of wood—and was pulled down to make way for a stone edifice of worthier dimensions. Of this church some fragments survive in the walls of the nave near the western arch of the tower. The font is also of this date.

Early in the xiiith century, following the example set elsewhere, Giles de Braose, Bishop of Hereford, and his brother William, Lord of Brecknock, began to reconstruct the church in the prevalent Early English style. Their work was presently interrupted, for the de Braoses became involved in hostilities with their tyrannical master John. William fled to France, and his wife and son were starved to death by the savage monarch. Bishop Giles, in revenge, intrigued with the independent Welsh, and the result was that in 1231 Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, Prince of North

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[1] The charters which illustrate its first beginnings and growth are reprinted in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vols. xiii. and xiv. (Series IV.).

Wales, came down upon Brecon and burnt church, castle and town alike.[1] Probably all available funds were absorbed in repairing the devastation wrought by Llywelyn's caterans. In 1262 Llywelyn ap Gruffyd, the last prince of Wales, seized the town, and it is unlikely that the church escaped damage. It was in consequence not until the XIVth century that the de Bohuns, who were now Earls of Hereford and Lords of Brecknock, transformed the Norman nave into the existing Decorated structure. A little later the eastern chapels were thrown out from the transepts and the edifice was complete. From that date to this there has been no structural alteration of any

PLAN OF BRECON CATHEDRAL

Drawn by Mr. C. J. E. Large.

[1] There is a conflict of evidence on this point. Two more or less contemporary chronicles say that the castle was taken and destroyed; a third denies the fact. Lloyd seems to incline to the former opinion, and I follow him, without committing myself to absolute certainty on the subject.

consequence, except that the south-eastern chapel has disappeared.

In dimensions the building is modest—smaller than many English parish churches—but herein it resembles its fellows in Wales, of which even St. David's is only of the second or even third rank as regards size. It is also very simple as regards its exterior, in this respect resembling Carlisle, but despite this it possesses considerable dignity of an unadorned description. It has more of the characteristics of a Norman building than one of the Early English period of architecture; it reminds one of Romsey Abbey, though it is very much less imposing.

The plan is simple, consisting of nave with aisles, transepts, and a chancel without aisles, their place being partially taken by a large chapel on the north side and a smaller one on the south. There is a north porch and the entire structure is crowned by a low massive tower.

The situation of the little cathedral adds considerably to its attractiveness. It stands on a wooded hill, round the foot of which the Honddu flows or rages, according to climatic conditions, to join the larger but no less turbulent Usk. When last the writer saw Honddu she was in an angry mood, rushing along between her banks in a succession of swirling rapids to the accompaniment of a dull roar which boded ill for Brecon if the rains continued—as they did. One sees that St. John's was almost as much fortress as church, set high upon a hill, protected by a rushing stream, and with good stout walls as well. Such bulwarks were necessary in the days when

Brecknockshire was a debatable land which the barons were not always strong enough to protect against the Welsh mountaineers.

The continuation of the High Street which leads to the cathedral goes by the name of the Struet. Looking down upon it from amid a somewhat scanty grove of trees is the grey bulk of the ancient edifice—stern but unquestionably stately in its modest fashion. Passing up the slope there are to be observed some portions of the precinct wall, and on the right the Priory barn, its eave having some quaint sculptured gargoyles, while in the wall is a somewhat rude sculpture of St. John.

The first general view of the cathedral is obtained from the lychgate, and is by no means devoid of attractiveness. The very simplicity of the building has its recommendation. The outline of the nave is bold and impressive, and the north porch and the curious dormer window of the aisle add variety to that which otherwise would be open to a charge of complete bleakness and aridity. The tower, too, is pleasing — massive and imposing in bulk without clumsiness.

A more satisfying impression may be gained by taking position in the churchyard near the north-west wall. From this point the whole length of the building may be seen, and the intervening foliage adds a touch of romantic charm. The long unbroken roof-line of the nave is perhaps a little monotonous, but the clerestory is highly dignified and the grouping of the eastern chapels and choir with the transepts and tower is effective. Upon the whole one approaches Brecon

Cathedral with a feeling of disappointment and leaves it with one of considerable satisfaction. Great bulk and beauty of ornament are absent, but the general aspect is one of stateliness, and the building is decidedly handsome in its severe simplicity.

TWO STONE BOWLS WHICH WERE FOUND BURIED IN THE CLOISTER GARTH OF BRECON CATHEDRAL

Whether they were ancient fonts or not is uncertain. They seem too large for holy water stoups.

The one touch of external decoration is afforded by the North Porch, of which the façade must once have been a most effective composition. Above the doorway are three niches originally filled with statues, and over these a pair of lancets. The whole forms a simple but pleasing conception, though the general effect is somewhat marred by the weakness of the doorway arch. In the north-west buttress is another graceful niche,

its unoccupied bracket still remaining though the statue—perhaps that of the Evangelist—has vanished.

On the grass close to the porch lie what are called in the cathedral handbook "stoups," *i.e.* holy-water basins—and noted as two of the largest in existence. They were found buried beneath the cloister garth and are certainly very large. They are nearly hemispherical bowls with four external ribs and are paralleled by a basin in the church of St. Etheldreda in Ely Place, London. The fact that they were buried is curious. Of course, some pious Catholic may have concealed them in order to preserve them from profane use: on the other hand they may be relics from an earlier period. Their proper place is within the church and not in the graveyard exposed to the influence of the Welsh climate and chance blows when the grass is being cut.

THE NAVE consists of five bays in the Decorated style. There is little ornamentation, but the proportions and contour of the arcades are excellent. The general effect is, however, somewhat spoiled by the irregular ground-plan which admits of only three archways on the south side against five on the north. The pulpitum or choir screen has been removed, so that there is an uninterrupted vista from end to end. This is artistically of great benefit, since it gives an impression of majesty quite beyond the modest dimensions of the building, while the stately choir arch and the beauty of the Early English chancel add both dignity and charm. Local admirers undoubtedly resort to hyperbole in speaking of their cathedral, but without exaggeration, it is not unworthy of its rank and possesses many of the qualities of an episcopal church.

The building shows everywhere evidence of its curious condition in the Middle Ages, the nave being the parish church and the aisles the chapels of the craft guilds. The greater part of the northern aisle is occupied by the Chapel of the Corvizers and Tailors. A corvizer, it may be said for the information of the uninitiated, is nothing more nor less than a shoemaker. The south aisle is chiefly taken up by the Chapel of the Weavers and Tuckers—a tucker being a fuller, not, as might perhaps be imagined, a dressmaker or seamstress. It will be seen that the chapels of Brecon represent accurately the four stages of the clothing of a human being: first, the manufacture of cloth; secondly, its preparation for tailoring; third, the tailoring itself; fourth, the natural completion of the costume, the footgear. The absence of a shirtmakers' chapel may be explained by the fact that the underclothing was of wool no less than the outer garments; what linen there was had the consistency of canvas—but there was very little of it.

THE CHAPEL OF THE CORVIZERS is cut off from the north transept by a decidedly crude wall pierced by a nondescript arch. It is lighted by a dormer containing a Decorated window which was evidently constructed for the special purpose of lighting the chapel. The interior has been much restored, and is now officially appropriated for the private devotions of women. The principal feature, however, is the fine Decorated recess-tomb with a recumbent effigy. There is no evidence as to the identity of the personage buried here: the effigy is that of a layman, and it may be conjectured that he was the dedicator of the chapel,

though a suggestion has been made that he may have been the builder of the nave.

THE SOUTH AISLE has not been restored as a chapel; at the west end is a mediæval cope-chest. These chests, it must be explained, are huge and of semicircular form, as large as a grand piano. Their purpose was that the splendid cope, with its velvet and brocade, should be laid away after use with only a single fold to disturb or damage its priceless decorations.

At the west end of the nave is a collection of sculptured stones including the font, and a number of sepulchral slabs incised with the emblems of the crafts and retaining down to the xviith century the floriated cross of the Middle Ages, a practice very rare elsewhere. There is also a wooden effigy of a lady, one of the famous family of Gam of Aberbran. This family played a considerable part in later mediæval Welsh history; one of its members, David, was among the five princes and gentlemen who were slain on the English side at Agincourt. He was a staunch loyalist and opponent of Owen Glendower. The effigy is the sole remnant of the once splendid wooden tomb of the Gams, which was burned during the Great Civil War by the Parliamentary troops.

The ancient cresset stone once used for lighting the church is the largest in existence in England; it has no less than thirty cups.

THE FONT is a very remarkable object—one of the most curious which the writer can recollect. It is of the bowl-and-pedestal order, of circular plan, and seems to date either from the end of the xiith or the commencement of the xiiith century. This I deduce

from the sculpture of the base which shows pointed
blind arcading; if the font were Norman one would
expect round-headed arches. The bowl is decorated
externally with a border of interlaced spirals, beneath
which are multifoils, interspersed with grotesque
masks. It is certainly a strangely barbaric work of art
and the decoration might perfectly well have been
executed by a vth-century craftsman, or at any time
between the vth and xiith centuries. It appears to
be essentially a local work, the sculpture eloquent of
real artistic feeling and wild untutored fancy. The
base seems good evidence for fixing its date at not
earlier than the end of the xiith century. Round its
top is the unusual feature of a Latin inscription,
evidently a text from the Vulgate, apparently from the
Gospel of St. Matthew, beginning, "Jesus came unto
John to be baptised." The font, like the Gam tomb,
suffered in the Great Civil War.

THE CHANCEL has been called the glory of Brecon,
and there can be no doubt that it is an admirable
example of Early English Gothic architecture. It has
four bays and the intention was to vault it, but, as in
most other Welsh churches, it was not carried into
execution. The reason for this was probably the exile
of William de Braose, and the consequent cessation
of the flow of money for the work. The present vault
is modern, the work of Sir Gilbert Scott, and so far
as severely pure design and graceful contour are con-
cerned, one of the best examples of that restoring
architect's art.

The first bay contains doorways leading into the
choir aisles. Each of the other three has on either

hand an admirable triplet, while the east end is pierced by a truly magnificent quintuplet. The lancets are deeply recessed, and are separated by detached columns of extreme grace and beauty, their capitals, annulets and bases all typical of Early English at its very best. Unfortunately the effect of the triplets on the north side is spoiled by the xivth-century building up of their lower parts when the Havard Chapel was built. The outline of the great quintuplet as a whole is remarkable; it is such that it is in principle a triplet with two supports—that is, a line following the heads of the arches on each side forms a curve. Whether this arrangement really adds to the effect I am not certain, but it is unquestionably original.

Beneath this splendid quintet are two trefoliated niches which were originally the aumbries in which sacerdotal furniture was stored. Enclosed in the pavement on the north side is a curious sculptured stone with upon it a cross in high relief, adored by four monks. It is thought with some reason to have been the ancient reredos.

The Bishop's Throne is, of course, modern, but the sedilia, with their delightful trefoliated arches, are splendid and unsurpassed Early English work. Of the same period are the triple piscinæ, also beneath trefoliated arches. These features, together with the almost unique system of lighting the building by triplets in the side walls, combine to give the choir of Brecon Cathedral a distinctive quality which ranks it in this respect above many buildings surpassing it in magnitude and splendour of decoration.

The great quintuplet is filled with modern stained

glass commemorating the glories of the South Wales Borderers, the ancient 24th Foot, a regiment which ranks very high among the infantry units of the British Army by reason of its widely extended service and the remarkable number of distinctions achieved by its members.

It was raised in 1689 by William III., and served a bloody apprenticeship of hardship and misfortune under him before it followed Marlborough to victory. It always appears to have had the fortune of being assigned to the hottest quarters; at Blenheim it had, together with the Grenadier Guards and the 10th, 21st and 23rd, the impossible task of storming Blenheim itself. Indeed no regiment of the army has ever had such astonishingly bad luck in being sent upon hopeless or mismanaged service. It was with the miserable Cartagena expedition of 1742; in 1777 it had to surrender with Burgoyne at Saratoga, and the prisoners were shamefully ill-treated by the American Government—not, be it always remembered, by the officers and men of the American Army. In 1806 it at last experienced a gleam of good fortune, taking part in the conquest of South Africa from the Dutch.

Its greatest hour came at last. The second battalion went with Wellington to the Peninsula in 1809 and took a very distinguished part in the battle of Talavera. It was at Bussaco and Fuentes de Oñoro, and remained until the triumphant end of the war, though so much worn down by hard service that Wellington had to unite it with another to make up the strength of a regiment. Meanwhile its first battalion went to India and aided in the conquest of the stubborn Gurkhas.

The fragment of the second battalion of the 24th which was left by 1813 was unluckily not able to win any credit at the great battle of Vittoria, but to compensate for this disappointment it, six weeks later, took part in what Wellington called the most brilliant thing which he had ever seen. The remains of the battalion were united with the wreck of the 2/58th to form a provisional unit in the 1st Brigade of the 7th Division, commanded by Major-General Edward Barnes, one of the youngest and best of Wellington's brigadiers.

After a very gallant attempt to relieve Pamplona, the French army of Spain had been thoroughly defeated and thrust back into the Pyrenees, its ranks thinner by 12,000 men, killed, wounded, and taken, while many thousands more had dispersed to seek food, and the remainder were half starved, worn out with fatigue, and utterly disheartened. On 2nd August, Marshal Soult managed to rally about 25,000 men in an enormously strong position at Echalar, where he hoped to stand in order to rally the stragglers. His hopes were not groundless, for the British army was also half starved and worn down with fatigue, and only 13,000 were up at the front. But all of them, British and Portuguese, had reached such a pitch of self-confidence that they took no account of odds, and their generals were as reckless as the men.

On the morning of 2nd August, the 7th Division was leading the pursuit. Its commander was Lord Dalhousie, a by no means brilliant or reliable officer —insubordinate also. But on this occasion, for the first and last time in his life, George Ramsay ex-

perienced a real flash of genius; he guessed that the French had no spirit left in them, and without a moment's hesitation hurled Barnes's weak brigade (1800 men) at the imposing line of mountain positions. Barnes raced his men—the 1/6th, 2/24th, 2/58th and the Brunswick-Oels battalion—into line; and the whole, far in advance of the rest of the division, tramped uphill to attack an army in position!

The French army corps in front of Barnes was commanded by General (afterwards Marshal) Bertrand Clausel, one of the best of Napoleon's younger generals. With him were the remains of three divisions —those of Conroux, Vandermaesen, and Taupin. It was against Conroux's division that Barnes's little brigade was marching, and in its ranks there must have been still nearly 4000 men. They fired furiously at the oncoming British for some time, and then broke and fled—nothing can be more candid than Clausel's confession of the fact. He tried to bring Vandermaesen's troops on to steady the breaking division, but Conroux's men stampeded madly into the ranks of their oncoming comrades, and the whole mass of beaten men rolled back in utter disorder behind Taupin.

To speak plainly, Soult's entire centre was simply smashed in by the mad rush uphill of a single weak British brigade, and while Barnes was achieving this astonishing success the French right wing melted away in the same fashion before the advance of the British Light Division. Count Reille is just as frank as his colleague. Clausel says: "The resistance ought to have been greater. . . . This day the morale of the troops was bad." Reille tells sadly how his tired and

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dispirited men drifted pell-mell to the rear, and how he himself was wandering about in a fog with three battalions. "The spirit not only of the men but of the officers was very bad," he confesses. The absolute want of food explained it. Both sides were very badly off in that respect, but the French soldiers knew that they were utterly defeated and had lost confidence in their commanders. So they obeyed natural instinct and stampeded—but that does not diminish the credit due to Barnes and his brigade. Wellington, usually so cold in praise and chary of words, forgot himself and said what he thought. He wrote: "In my life I never saw such an attack as was made by General Barnes' brigade upon the enemy above Echalar . . . it is impossible that I can extol too highly the conduct of General Barnes and these brave troops, which was the admiration of all who witnessed it."

Thirty-five years later the 24th was under Lord Gough in the Punjab and, with its usual fate, met much hard fighting, much hard fortune and eventual victory. It suffered terribly at the misunderstood battle of Chilianwala in 1849, but a few months later took its revenge at the splendid victory of Gujerat, one of the most complete and well-generalled successes ever gained by the British Army. It may be that its most glorious, though also its most fatal, day, was at the hill of Isandlhwana in the Zulu War of 1879.

Isandlhwana means "The Little Hand." Beneath its shadow, on 22nd January, 1879, General Lord Chelmsford left a detachment of 2000 men, including 650 of the 24th, to guard his camp while with the rest of his force he marched out to fight a Zulu army which

according to the scouts was encamped several miles
away. The information was false and, having thus
decoyed the main British force away, the Zulu stra-
tegists marched down to Isandlhwana with 10,000
magnificent warriors, intent upon their prey. They
drove in the outposts, thrust back the advance guard
and finally charged in upon the main British line.

There were in that line the 24th Regiment, two guns,
some Natal and Boer volunteers and a native con-
tingent. The Zulu regiments, line after line, charged
forward in magnificent order and with superb deter-
mination, coming on through the hail of bullets and
bursting shells, assegais in hand, without firing, as
befitted soldiers trained in the school of Chaka. But
the imperious volleys of the 24th swept them away
by companies and presently brought them to a stand,
so that the chosen soldiers of Zululand wavered and
lay down, unable to advance, but grimly determined
not to go back.

And then their time came. The native contingent
lost its nerve at the sight of the oncoming Zulu veterans
in their barbarous war splendour, and just as the 24th
had fairly stopped the Zulu advance the native troops
broke and fled. That was the end. The Zulu officers
gave the word "Bulala Umlongo!" (Kill the white
man), the perfectly drilled soldiers rose to their feet,
charged at their usual amazing pace, stormed in on
the front of the devoted 24th and poured through the
fatal gap left by the flight of the natives. A welter of
confusion and slaughter rolled back towards the
Buffalo River. The Natal volunteers behaved splen-
didly, but were swept away at last; the Basuto cavalry

also fought almost to the end to cover the retreat. The 24th, true to the best traditions of the British Army, fought steadfastly to the death. Their duty was plain, and that duty they fulfilled in a manner which covered the regiment with a dazzling halo of glory. Outnumbered by ten to one, with their line uncovered by the flight of the natives and the pressing back of the volunteers, they stood up to the Zulu *impi*— and died.

When all was over it was reckoned that twenty-one officers and almost 600 soldiers had fallen. After the battle two chosen Zulu regiments went on to storm the little depôt at Rorke's Drift, where there was one company of the 24th. The wonderful story of how that solitary company, with a handful of strays from Isandlhwana and a few details, held the post against the Undi and Udklokko Regiments is counted the grandest deed in our military history. It has been told so often that it need not be repeated here. And it may be that the greatest glory of the 24th was won not at Rorke's Drift, but at Isandlhwana. The epitaph of the devoted battalion was pronounced by its admiring foes: "Those wonderful red soldiers! How few there were, and how they fought us, falling like stones, every man at his post!" The glass of the eastern lancets of Brecon Cathedral may be open to criticism, but it tells a story of surpassing valour.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT is called the Battle Chapel probably in allusion to Battle Abbey rather than to any actual conflict, although it is sometimes supposed to have been appropriated to the villagers of Battle a few miles distant. The spot is *said* to be the scene of

the defeat of Caratacus by the Romans in A.D. 54, and is known to have witnessed a fight in which Bleddyn, the last prince of Brycheiniog, was defeated and slain by the Normans. The transept is separated from the north choir aisle by twin Early English archways.

THE HAVARD CHAPEL occupies the whole of the north aisle of the choir. It is so called as having been built by the Anglo-Norman family of that name as a burial place, although nothing now remains to testify to their presence except a stone beneath the east window sculptured with their armorial bearings. The founder of the line was a certain Havard, who joined Bernard de Neufmarché in his South Welsh adventure, and was granted a fief near Brecon. Before the chapel was built there were two smaller ones at the east end of the aisle. The same was the case on the south side. A trace of the groining may be observed.

In the south wall is a Decorated arch opening into the choir, and beside it is a squint bearing upon the high altar. The principal monument is that of Sir David Williams (died 1613), a justice of the King's Bench. It has recumbent effigies of the judge and his wife, both good examples of the portrait statuary of the period.

The chapel has lately been restored and decorated as a memorial of the 5777 officers and men of the many battalions of the 24th who gave their lives in the Great European War of 1914–18. The decorations were donated in memory of individuals and the same is the case with the windows. The designs were made or suggested by Sir Charles Nicholson, and carried out by Messrs. James Powell and Sons. The Roll of

Honour lies on the altar: before it are the "houseling" benches which once stood in the choir. These benches took the place of permanent altar rails at the celebration of Holy Communion. Two of them have been altered into foot-rests.

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT was formerly called the Chapel of the Red-Haired Men (= the Normans). It is lighted by a graceful Early English triplet of lofty lancets as fine as any of the others which adorn the church. Near it is a peculiarly beautiful little Early English piscina, and on the western wall a tablet by Flaxman to the memory of Mr. Morgan James (died 1798). It is, of course, out of keeping with the building, but has all the pleasing characteristics of Flaxman's work. This transept is now fitted up as a place of devotion for men. The motives at the back of the wish to separate the sexes in Christian churches are obscure to the ordinary lay mind. The south choir aisle is partly used as a vestry and partly to house the organ and needs no special notice.

The external appearance of the tower has already been noted. In its belfry chamber hang six bells. The interior is stern and grimly impressive, not to say warlike, bringing home to the observer the fact that when the Priory of St. John the Evangelist was built upon the hill outside Brecon, the county was an unsettled border tract, in which a church might at any moment have to do duty as a fortress.
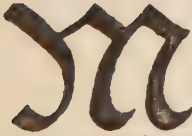
CHAPTER V

ST. PETER'S, CARMARTHEN, AND THE ABBEYS
OF NEATH, MARGAM AND STRATA FLORIDA

CHAPTER V

ST. PETER'S, CARMARTHEN

uch more than average interest attaches to the quaint if not in itself specially attractive town of Carmarthen, which during a very long period may be said to have occupied the position of capital of South Wales. Its name is generally considered to be Old Welsh Mör-ddin, "The Sea Castle," which was corrupted by the Romans into Maridunum—very probably pronounced Marthunum or Marth'num; so that Carmarthen nearly exactly reproduces the name by which the Roman station by the Towy was known to the men of the hills behind it. As a Roman military camp it may well be ascribed to Sextus Julius Frontinus, the famous general and writer upon strategy who was Governor-General of Britain about A.D. 74-77 and is known to have subdued South Wales.

When the strong hand of Rome at last relaxed its hold in the vth century, Maridunum must have greatly declined, but it seems to have perpetuated its existence in decayed fashion and at the end of the xith century was colonised by the Anglo-Normans under

William FitzBaldwin, Sheriff of Devonshire. What he found is not known, but Giraldus Cambrensis says that the Roman walls of Maridunum were still standing in his time (1146–1220). Mediæval Welsh legend associated Carmarthen with the wizard Merlin. Sir John Rhys thinks that the name Merlin has affinities with Mör-ddin (Maridunum). The Welsh legends clearly recognise two Merlins: Merlin Ambrosius, who was the court bard of the famous Romano-British king, Ambrosius Aurelianus (flourished *circa* 465–490), and Merlin Silvester or Myrddin Wyllt who lived a century or so later.

Unfortunately all Welsh historical problems are beset with difficulties, owing to the inconsequence of the legends and the late form in which they have reached us. It is on the borderland of probability that the first Merlin, Ambrosius, is really an apotheosis of Ambrosius Aurelianus who is known to have exercised supremacy in South Wales and may very well have visited Maridunum. With that one must be content. Those who love *The Idylls of the King* may comfort themselves with the thought that the beautiful country about Carmarthen is at any rate a fit setting for the entrapping of the enchanter by the natural enemy of godlike wisdom — the cunning and depraved Vivien.

However this may be, Carmarthen during the Middle Ages was the chief centre of English influence in Southwest Wales, and, as such, shared in the vicissitudes of that somewhat distracted region. In 1215 the tribal bands of all independent Wales for once united under Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, came down on the fortress and

captured it. It was recovered, but in the winter of 1234 it was again besieged by a confederation of southern Welsh princes who pressed the attack with great determination, throwing a bridge across the Towy in order to block a relief by sea. But the town defended itself desperately for fifty days, and in March a fleet from Bristol under Henry de Turberville burst the bridge and raised the siege. The Welsh horde was scattered to the winds and its principal leader, Prince Rhys Gryg, whose tomb is believed to be in St. David's Cathedral, was mortally wounded in the rout.

Carmarthen's troubles were far from over; during the next fifty years it was more or less in terror of the strong ambitious princes of North Wales, whose high pretensions were not completely crushed until 1282. For more than a century thereafter it had comparative peace until, in 1400, Owen Glendower's famous rebellion broke out and rapidly swept into its turbulent swirl the whole of Wales. In the summer of 1403 Owen came down the vale of the Towy with all his levies about him and on July 6th stormed and captured Carmarthen. It was retaken in the autumn and its walls repaired. But two years later it was besieged once more by Glendower and Marshal de Rieux and changed hands for the third time. In the following year, however, it was finally retaken by Prince Henry apparently without trouble, its Welsh garrison having abandoned it.

It was a focus of military operations during the great civil wars and was taken and retaken more than once. Wales furnished King Charles with many of his bravest officers and with tens of thousands of gallant recruits

who from first to last formed the pith of the infantry in his own central army. Quelled in 1646, Wales was in revolt two years later and had to be subdued by Lieutenant-General Cromwell. Carmarthen was his base of operations during the siege of Pembroke.

Carmarthen's principal monument of a stormy past is the parish church of St. Peter—a large edifice of irregular plan with a western tower. It has a nave and chancel, with one aisle on the south extending not quite the entire length. From this aisle project two porches, and on the north side is a much larger projection than that on the south, consisting of a chapel and a storehouse.

Of architectural interest there is little: the building is of distinctly rude construction and there is scarcely any ornamentation. As far as architectural indications afford guidance, the nave and chancel must have been built in the xiiith century, very probably after the recovery of the town from Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, but the south aisle is much later, perhaps of about 1390; the north chapel annexe is also of this date or later.

In the tower porch is a small altar which is undoubtedly a relic of Romano-British Carmarthen. It is a somewhat rude object, fashioned of the local stone and standing on a base. The Royal Commission of Ancient Monuments in its report of 1917 stated that the site of the Roman fort of Maridunum had been completely determined, outlined on two sides by Priory Street and East Parade, and on the side of Priory Field by perfectly recognisable traces of the rampart and ditch. Other indications show that the area enclosed, about three acres in extent, was later enlarged.

The most notable monument in the church is the table-tomb of Sir Rhys ap Thomas in the south aisle. This originally stood in the Church of the Grey Friars and at the Dissolution was removed hither, while the tomb of Edmund Tudor was taken to St. David's. It has unfortunately been very much restored and can hardly be regarded as a genuine monument of the XVIth century: indeed some most unwarrantable liberties appear to have been taken with the original curious decoration. From a sketch drawn in 1803 by John Carter, as well as a photograph made before the restoration, it appears that a large slab on one side adorned with a wheel design, very original in such a position, was removed. On the slab are the effigies of Sir Rhys and his wife, both apparently unrestored. Sir Rhys commanded the southern Welsh levies who joined Henry VII. in his bid for the crown in 1485, and led them at Bosworth Field. For his services
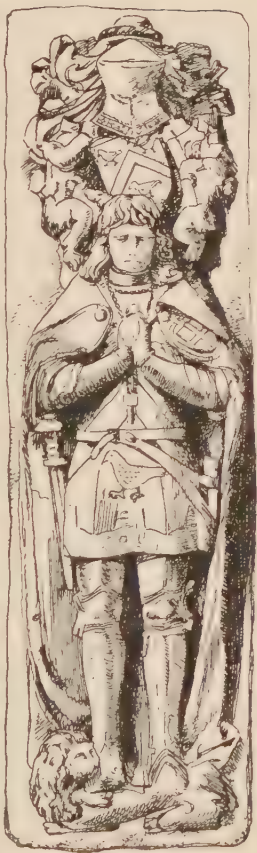
EFFIGY OF SIR RHYS AP THOMAS, K.G., IN CARMARTHEN CHURCH

he was given high office in his native country and continued to play a considerable part in public life until 1525, when he died at the ripe age of seventy-six. In 1505 he was elected a Knight of the Garter.

Two later personages of great note, each in his special profession, died at Carmarthen. One of them was Sir Richard Steele, " Dicky Steele," the friend and coadjutor of Addison, and the founder of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*.[1] There is not space to deal with the manifold activities—political and literary—of this talented, generous, lovable and yet somewhat unstable Irishman. Macaulay, who had what I conceive to be a constitutional Scottish antipathy to jollification and high living, was rather severe upon Steele's failings as a man, but there is abundant evidence to prove that he was a most unselfish patriot in public life, while in private he was a loving husband and father. His letters to his fiancée, who afterwards became his wife, are delightful reading.

It is to this fiancée that Carmarthen owes its connection with well-loved Dicky Steele. Mary Scurlock was the daughter of Mr. Jonathan Scurlock of Llangunnor in Carmarthenshire. She was by all accounts a very beautiful girl and also, as pretty girls are wont to be, imperious and troublesome. Steele was improvident, impulsive and erratic. So, though there is no doubt that the pair were genuinely attached to one another, their courtship and married life were decidedly

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[1] For the information of the non-literary reader it may be observed that the modern periodicals, *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*, are not the descendants of those conducted by Addison and Steele.

lively. Mary Steele's part in the menage is, I fancy, indicated by her husband's pet name for her, " Prudence," usually contracted into " Prue," with some endearing adjective annexed. Lady Steele died on 26th December, 1716, nineteen years after her marriage, and her husband's political influence procured for her burial in Westminster Abbey. Worse women than pretty, charming, imperious " Prue" Steele lie within those hallowed walls, but one regrets that warmhearted " Dick" does not repose there also.

Sir Richard Steele was in his later years more and more beset by pecuniary difficulties—he lacked " Prue's" guiding hand—and in 1724 he made an honourable agreement with his creditors and retired to Carmarthen, where he lived for five years a paralytic invalid, but to the last full of kindliness and good temper. It was his delight to watch the country amusements, and he would give prizes—generally a new dress—to the best dancer among the Welsh lasses. He lived for a while in the Ivy Bush Inn, and died in a house in King Street, 1st September, 1729. He was buried in St. Peter's Church in the south aisle.

Not far from Steele is the monument of another man who honoured Carmarthen in his death—Major-General Sir William Nott of Afghan fame. During the black days of 1841-2, when Afghanistan was in revolt against the British occupation and the British garrisons were being destroyed amid such circumstances of horror and ignominy as have hardly ever disgraced the warlike annals of our race, General Nott alone upheld the honour of the British name. From him only, when matters appeared most hopeless,

came no suggestion that overtures should be made to the savage and treacherous foe.

When Ghazni had fallen and when the garrison of Kabul had capitulated and been massacred in the passes, Nott was left at Kandahar with a force no stronger than that which had disgracefully succumbed at Kabul. But despair was the last feeling which entered into the heart of this sturdy scion of a family of Anglo-Welsh yeomen. He was full of defiant courage and haughty confidence. When one of his subordinates was repulsed in an attack and appealed for support, the stern old general sent a contemptuous message ordering his instant advance. " I am aware," he wrote, " *that war cannot be made without loss,* but yet perhaps English soldiers can meet Asiatic armies without defeat." The very spirit of Cæsar and Cromwell and Clive rings in that sentence of haughty scorn. After defeating the Afghans who threatened Kandahar, Nott marched upon Kabul, there to join General Pollock who was advancing to reoccupy it from the east. Twice on his march he scattered Afghan armies to the four winds, came triumphantly into Kabul, and joined Pollock.

Concerning Nott's magnificent courage and public spirit there can never be any doubt. All concerned in the retrieving of our fame in gloomy Afghanistan bore witness to his merit, including no less a person than the aged Wellington. But his health was broken, and though honours were showered upon him when he returned to England in 1844, he lived only a few months longer. He had formerly lived at Carmarthen, and it was there that he passed the last weeks of his life. He died on

6th January, 1845, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's beside his parents. The wife whose effigy appears on the monument was his second spouse, Janet Stradling, a widow of Radyr in Glamorganshire. In Carmarthen's small central square there is a bronze statue of this fine old warrior and patriot erected by
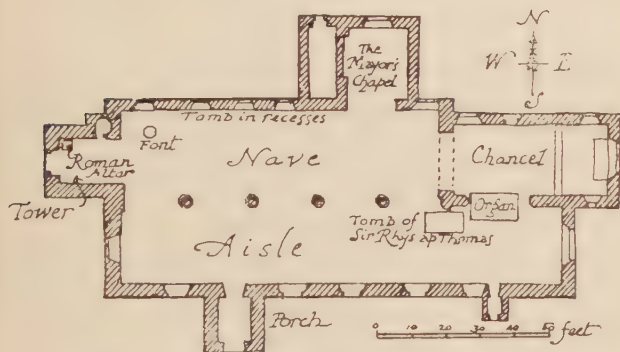
GROUND-PLAN OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CARMARTHEN

Tower, nave and chancel appear to have been built in the XIIIth century, and the aisle about 1390–1394.

public subscription to which Queen Victoria contributed £100. The bronze was furnished from the metal of the Maratha guns captured at Maharajpur by General (afterwards Field-Marshal) Gough in 1843.

In the north wall of the nave are four sepulchral recesses, one with a slab inscribed with the name Ricar: Rusb(u)r. Another slab has an uninscribed effigy. Yet another unidentifiable figure rests upon a great

L

stone in the north wall of the chancel. St. Peter's Church is full of historic interest even though its architectural interest be slight.

Of the once famous and wealthy Augustinian priory there are no vestiges left above ground.

NEATH ABBEY

The once famous Abbey of Neath, now represented by a group of somewhat forlorn ruins, dates from the Anglo-Norman conquest of South Wales in the xith–xiith centuries. The principality of Morganiog, now known as Glamorgan, was conquered about 1080–90 by Robert FitzHamo, the founder of Tewkesbury Abbey, the Welsh king whom he expelled being Iestyn ap Gwrgant. FitzHamo died without male issue and his daughter Mabel was married by Henry I. to his own natural son Robert, the famous first Earl of Gloucester.

It seems probable that it was Robert who completed the organisation of the new province which Robert FitzHamo had been able only to commence. Certainly the new arrangements bear the stamp of statesmanship. The land was granted out to Anglo-Norman barons and Welsh princes. Two of the sons of Iestyn were established in substantial fiefs, while the district west of the river Neath was given to Richard de Greinvilla, a baron of Devon, presumably the ancestor of the Grenviles, a family of fierce warriors which made so great an impression on the imagination of the West Country.

Richard de Greinvilla, like many of his fellows, was a benefactor of the Church—and it may be added that

these hard fighters and land-getters builded, perhaps, better than they knew, and deserve more credit than is often given to them. Though in the Middle Ages both in Eastern and Western Europe the enrichment of abbeys in time became a curse, yet it should be remembered that the monasteries were the only places in which art and learning found a comparatively peaceful home and where a man could rise to a position of influence by force of ability and high character irrespective of birth. Nor is the real religious feeling of these fiery warriors to be regarded with contempt.

Let that be as it may, Richard de Greinvilla ranks among the first of the abbey founders of South Wales. In 1130 he gave to the famous monastery of Savigny le Vieux in Normandy an estate between the rivers Neath and Tawe, for the foundation and endowment of an abbey of reformed type. Seventeen years later Savigny le Vieux became merged in the far-famed fraternity of Citeaux, and thus Neath was one of the very earliest if not the first of the Cistercian establishments in Wales. In the records of Citeaux it is called "Not."

Both Anglo-Norman and Welsh barons seem cordially to have co-operated in the endowment and enriching of Neath. Rhys, a son of the former kinglet Iestyn, Lord of Ruthyn, granted to it the church of Saint Ilith (Llanilid), and others of both races were not backward. Nevertheless the abbey did not escape the curious vicissitudes which characterised the history of South Wales between 1100 and 1282. In 1231 Neath Castle was stormed by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in his great invasion of English Wales, and beyond any doubt the monks suffered, for the Lord of Snowdonia and his

followers, actuated by that fierce and narrow national patriotism which spares nothing alien, had little respect for religious foundations.

After the Edwardian conquest Neath enjoyed a period of tranquillity for about 120 years until the outbreak of the rebellion of Owen Glendower in 1400. Following Llywelyn's devastation it was rebuilt in the Early English style. Between 1400 and 1406 it lived in constant terror, and twice at least must have trembled at the face and felt the hand of the last upholder of the stubborn Welsh independence. In 1403 Owen twice ravaged the south-east of Wales and in the winter took Cardiff and Caerphilly. On this occasion Neath must have fallen into his hands. Two years later Glamorgan was ravaged by Owen and the French Marshal de Rieux with an army of 2600 Frenchmen and 10,000 Welsh. Neath must have suffered greatly, and its monks lived under the shadow of the sword.

The danger began to pass away just as it appeared to be at its height. The French, finding much hardship and little glory, drifted home, and in 1406 Glamorgan was reconquered from Owen. Probably its inhabitants found that the comparatively orderly rule of England was better than the military yoke of Glendower. So they submitted with a good grace to Prince Henry, the future hero of Agincourt, and the Abbey of Neath enjoyed a period of peace for 130 years until the dissolution of the monasteries. At that time it seems to have been the most splendid institution of its class in South Wales.

The ruins lie on a dead flat westward of the town,

surrounded by coal mines, railways and a canal. The environment has indeed been described as one of hideous desolation, but this is not now altogether the case. The site is more or less encircled by slag-heaps. These when new and raw must have been distressing to the eye, but they are now overgrown with coarse

THE VAULTED UNDERCROFT BENEATH THE DORMITORY OF
NEATH ABBEY

After a drawing by H. Gastineau.

grass and so do not offend as they did in the time of Borrow.

The abbey had the usual Cistercian plan—the church on the north side of a cloister garth, with the abbot's house and refectory opposite, and the other domestic offices occupying the remaining two sides. The abbot's house was much altered in the xviith century by Sir P. Hoby who adapted it to his own

domestic requirements. Of the refectory there remains little but a fragment of wall.

The buildings on the west side are in better preservation and consist of a basement cellar and store-rooms, with a floor containing the guest-house and the quarters of the lay brothers. This range of buildings is pierced by two gateways—a somewhat unusual phenomenon. That nearer to the church was an entrance for waggons, while the other was used by guests. It has a porch in advance of the actual entry-passage where the wayfarers were received by the monks told off for that duty.

On the opposite side of the cloister garth are the scanty remains of the dormitory, with beneath it the ruins of the vaulted chamber which formed the fratry or chapter-house.

The church, according to the rule of Citeaux, occupies the north side of the cloister garth, and following the Cistercian plan had a nave with aisles, transepts and a very short choir. There remain the west front in a ruinous condition, the walls of the nave with five window frames nearly intact on the north side, and with two only on the south. Of the transepts and choir very little remains above ground. On the whole there is not much to impress upon the visitor the fact that this was once one of the greatest abbeys in the west. Certainly there was no great amount of architectural embellishment at Neath, whatever there may have been of internal decoration in the form of painting and sculpture in wood. The general style is an extremely plain and unadorned Early English; there is scarcely any sculpture and that is of the simplest character.

Neath itself is a mining town of little architectural

THE RUINS OF NEATH ABBEY

Looking westward from the nearly destroyed choir.

From a drawing by H. Gastineau engraved by T. Barber.

interest, though its situation is most picturesque. It has, however, given a worthy son to the Empire in the person of General Sir William Nott, one of the best and bravest of the little group of devoted men who, after the horrible catastrophe of 1841-2 in Afghanistan, retrieved the honour of the British arms. Nott was of English descent, but had many Welsh characteristics, and in his fits of hot temper and insubordination resembled his compatriot Picton of Peninsular fame. Nott lies buried at Carmarthen, and more has been said of him in connection with that place.[1]

Margam Abbey

About seven miles from Port Talbot near Pyle Junction are the remains of the once famous Cistercian Abbey of Margam, founded in 1147 by Robert, Earl of Gloucester. The fact that Robert could found an Abbey at such a time shows how vigorously, amid the anarchy elsewhere of Stephen's reign, the earl kept the peace in that part of England which adhered to him and his half-sister the Empress Maud. The ruins lie mainly in the beautiful grounds of the modern mansion of Margam Abbey.

The greater part of the nave of the monastic church is now incorporated in that of the parish, but has been heavily restored. The lower portion of the west front survives: it must have been a fine example of Norman Romanesque just before its Transitional stage. There are

three rather plain windows of excellent outline above a doorway of admirable contour and Cistercian simplicity. It seems that part of the groining of the aisles may also date from the time of Earl Robert's building.

In the south aisle are the sepulchral monuments of the family of Mansel. The most notable of them was probably Sir Robert, a well-known and perhaps rather underrated admiral of the later Elizabethan and Stuart period, who began his active career under Howard and Essex at Cadiz in 1596 and lived for sixty years afterwards. He had the bad fortune, after many successes in Spain, to lead a more or less abortive expedition against the pirate lair of Algiers in 1620, after which he saw little more service either active or administrative. He seems to have been an honourable man, and though the administration of the navy in the reign of James I. was corrupt, Mansel's hands appear to have been clean—certainly he did not pile up a fortune. After serving or living under three sovereigns he died in 1656 during the rule of Oliver Cromwell, apparently in peace and unmolested, at the ripe age of eighty-three.

The greatest glory of Margam must have been its beautiful chapter-house which, while Cistercian buildings of this class were usually square or oblong, was twelve-sided without and circular within. The vaulted roof was supported by a circular pier, of which the beautiful foliated capitals remain. The walls of the chapter-house survive, though in a ruinous condition, but the vaulted vestibule is comparatively intact.

Strata Florida Abbey

About a mile from Strata Florida railway station and some fifteen from Aberystwith are the slight remains of the Abbey of Strata Florida, once one of the great religious establishments of Wales. Many of the Welsh monasteries have completely disappeared, and Strata Florida has been little more fortunate.

Only fragments of the church remain, but the ground plan may be traced out. It was of the Cistercian type— that is, it had a very short choir. Each of the transepts had three chapels on the eastern side. These chapels have been partially restored and those of the south aisle preserve their ancient pavements of encaustic tiles. Three of the piers of the tower survive in fair condition. In the chapels also are various fragments of sculpture which seem to suggest that there flourished here as at St. David's a school of art struck out for itself, and decorated the local sanctuary with a lavish richness in strong contrast with the stern bareness of Carmarthen and other South Welsh churches.

The western doorway, the one feature which survives almost completely intact, is unique in our island. It has five bands of moulding, each of which consists of a cylindrical shaft lying in a rectangular instead of the usual curved channel. These follow the outline of the doorway, round the arch and down the sides, without any capitals at the spring of the arch. The five cylindrical rolls are tied together at intervals by bands or rings, with ornaments upon the face which seem to represent the heads of croziers. The doorway has

no counterpart in Britain, but something slightly resembling it is said to exist at Leau in Belgium.

Though Strata Florida was in its later days a Cistercian house, there are indications, such as the Celtic crosses carved on the graves of the monks, that it retained many un-Cistercian and Celtic practices and customs. The architecture was distinctly original in its details: the grouped piers of the nave arcades rose from plain square bases seven feet high with chamfered edges, as in the lately re-discovered nave at Rievaulx Abbey.

The actual origin of Strata Florida is a little uncertain. Perhaps there once existed in the Ystrad Fflur— " the Flowery Valley "—a community of Celtic monks, but in 1164 a Cistercian abbey was founded by Robert Fitzstephen, the father of one of the pioneer conquerors of Ireland. Fitzstephen was afterwards captured by Rhys up Gruffyd, but the victor, so far from taking vengeance on the community, extended to it his protection and later added largely to its possessions. So Strata Florida Abbey, founded by an Anglo-Norman, became an especially Welsh sanctuary and for more than a century played a very exalted part in the history of Wales. It seems that it took up a very definite stand as a supporter of Welsh nationality, and especially of the princes of Snowdonia in their efforts to annex the entire country and expel the English intruders from the south.

Strata Florida became famous as a burial-place of princes. Several of the sons of Rhys ap Gruffyd, a most unruly band, were laid to rest within its precincts, but the most remarkable event in its history was the

THE VAULTED VESTIBULE OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE OF MARGAM ABBEY
From a drawing by H. Gastineau engraved by H. W. Bond.

great assembly in October 1238, when all the princes of Wales assembled at the venerated sanctuary and swore allegiance to David, the son and heir of the great Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. It was the last important event in the life of the last prince of Wales who was to die in full authority over his wild and unstable countrymen —"the great Achilles the Second, the Lord Llywelyn, whose deeds I am unworthy to recount. For with lance and shield did he tame his foes: he kept peace for the men of religion; he showed justice to all, and by fitting bonds of fear or love bound he all men unto him." So said the annalist of Strata Florida when the news of the prince's death reached the abbey—a fitting tribute to the merits of one who, within narrow limits and with restricted opportunities, showed himself to be a great man.
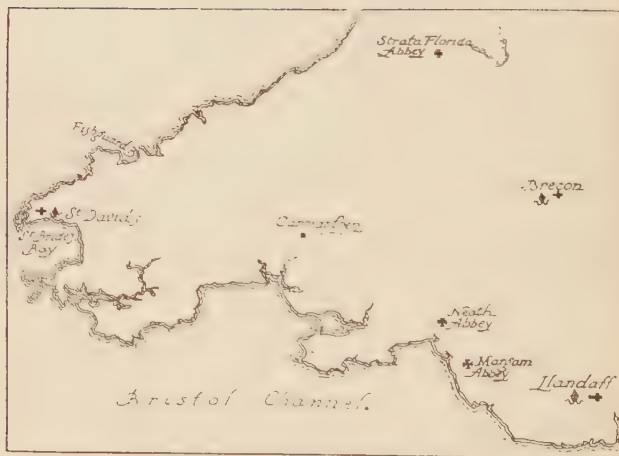
SKETCH MAP OF SOUTH WALES
Showing the places mentioned in this book.

A CHRONOLOGY
OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

A CHRONOLOGY
OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
570	*St. Dewi (David)*	AURELIUS CANDIDIANUS, last King of Roman Britain
582?		Defeat and death of Candidianus at Deorham
	Cynog	
	Teilo	
	Ceneu	
	Morfael	
	Haerwnen	
	Elvaed	(All synchronising and order of succession very doubtful down to 1020 or later)
	Gwrnwen	
	Llunwerth	
	Gwrgwyst	
	Gwgan	
	Clydawg	
	Eineon	
	Elffod	

WESTERN ROMANESQUE

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
	Ethelman	
	Elane	
	Maelsgwd	ECGBERHT, King of England (829–839)
831	*Sadurnfen*	
	Cadell	
	Sulhaithnay	ÆTHELWULF (839–858)
840	*Novis*	
	Idwal	
	Arthwael	ÆTHELBALD (858–860)
	Samson	ÆTHELBERHT (860–866)
	Ruelin	ÆTHELRED I. (866–871)

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DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
	Rhydderch	
	Elwin	
	Morbiw	ALFRED THE GREAT (871–900)
873	*Llunwerth*	EADWEARD I., "The Elder" (900–924)
		ÆTHELSTAN (924–940)
		EADMUND I. (940–946)
944	*Eneuris*	EADRED (946–955)
	Hubert	EADWIG (955–959)
	Ivor	EADGAR (959–975)
		EADWEARD II. (975–978)
978		ÆTHELRED II.
999	*Morgeneu*	
	Nathan	
	Ieuan	
1016	*Arwystl*	EADMUND II.
		CNUT THE DANE
1023	*Ervin*	
1035		HAROLD I.
1039	*Trahæarn*	
1040		HARTHACNUT

ROMANESQUE: NORMAN SCHOOL

1042		EADWEARD III., "The Confessor"
1061	*Joseph*	
	Bleiddud	
1066		HAROLD II.
		WILLIAM I.
1071	*Sulien*	
1076	*Abraham*	
1078	*Sulien* (second time)	
1081		William I. at St. David's
1087		WILLIAM II.
1088	*Rhyddmarch*	
1096	*Gruffyd (Griffi)*	

Romanesque: Late Norman School

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1100		HENRY I.
1115	*Bernard*	
1135		STEPHEN
1147	*David FitzGerald*	

Transitional: Norman Gothic

1154		HENRY II.
1176	*Peter de Leia*	
1180	Commencement of present Cathedral	
1189		RICHARD I.
1199		JOHN

Early English Gothic

1204	*Geoffrey de Henelawe*	
1215	*Gervase (Iorwerth)*	
1216		HENRY III.
1230	*Anselm de la Grace*	
1234	*Thomas Wallensis*	
1240	Fall of Central Tower	
1248	Completion of new Tower	
1256	*Richard de Carew*	
1272		EDWARD I.

Decorated Gothic

1280	*Thomas Beck*	
1293	*David Martyn*	
	Building of Lady Chapel	
1307		EDWARD II.
1327		EDWARD III.
1328	*Henry de Gower*	
	Decorated insertions	
	The South Porch	

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DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
	Raising of the Tower	
	Chapels of the Transepts	
	The Pulpitum	
	The Bishop's Palace	
1347	*John de Thoresby*	
1350	*Reginald Brian*	

PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1353	*Thomas Fastolfe*	
1361	*Adam de Houghton*	
1377	The College of St. Mary	RICHARD II.
1389	*John Gilbert*	
1397	*Guy Morse*	
1399		HENRY IV.
1408	*Henry Chicheley*	
1413		HENRY V.
1414	*John Catterick*	
1415	*Stephen Patrington*	
1418	*Benedict Nicholls*	
1422		HENRY VI.
1433	*Thomas Rodburne*	
1442	*William Lyndwood*	
1447	*John Langton*	
1447	*John Delabere*	
1460	*Robert Tully*	
1461		EDWARD IV.
1480	Roof of the Nave	
1482	*Richard Martyn*	
1483	*Thomas Langton*	EDWARD V.
		RICHARD III.
1485	*Hugh Pavy*	HENRY VII.

TUDOR GOTHIC

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1496	*John Morgan*	
1505	*Robert Sherborne*	
1509	*Edward Vaughan*	HENRY VIII.
	The Vaughan Chapel	

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1523	*Edward Rawlins*	
1535–9		Dissolution of Monasteries
1536	*William Barlow*	
	Devastation of Cathedral	
1547		EDWARD VI.
1548	*Robert Ferrar*	
1553		MARY I.
1554	*Henry Morgan*	
1558		ELIZABETH
1559	*Thomas Young*	
1561	*Richard Davies*	
1582	*Marmaduke Middleton*	
1594	*Anthony Rudd*	
1603		JAMES I.
1615	*Richard Milbourne*	
1621	*William Laud*	
1625		CHARLES I.
1627	*Theophilus Field*	
1635	*Roger Mainwaring*	
1649		THE COMMONWEALTH
		OLIVER CROMWELL
		RICHARD CROMWELL
1660	*William Lucy*	CHARLES II.
1677	*William Thomas*	
1683	*Lawrence Wornack*	
1685		JAMES II.
1686	*John Lloyd*	
1687	*Thomas Watson*	
1689		WILLIAM III.
		MARY II.
1695		WILLIAM III. (alone)
1702		ANNE
1705	*George Bull*	
1710	*Philip Bisse*	
1713	*Adam Ottley*	
1714		GEORGE I.
1723	*Richard Smallbrooke*	
1727		GEORGE II.
1730	*Elias Sydall*	
1731	*Nicholas Claggett*	

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1742	*Edward Willes*	
1743	*Richard Trevor*	
1752	*Anthony Ellis*	
1760		GEORGE III.
1761	*Samuel Squire*	
1766	*Robert Louth*	
	Charles Moss	
1774	*James Yorke*	
1775	Roof of Lady Chapel fell	
1779	*John Warren*	
1783	*Edward Smallwell*	
1788	*Samuel Horsley*	
1793	*William Stuart*	
1800	*Lord George Murray*	
	Nash's Restoration	
1803	*Thomas Burgess*	
1820		GEORGE IV.
1825	*J. B. Jenkinson*	
1830		WILLIAM IV.
1837		VICTORIA
1840	*Connop Thirlwall*	
1862	Beginning of Restoration	
1874	*Basil Jones*	
1897	*John Owen*	
1901	Restoration of Eastern Chapel	EDWARD VII.
1910		GEORGE V.
1914–18		Great European War

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